A

HISTORY

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

From their firſt Riſe to the preſent Time.

Compiled from AUTHENTIC RECORDS, and from the WRITINGS of that PEOPLE.

By JOHN GOUGH.

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HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

BOOK IV.

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Public Affairs.—Rise of the Separation of John Wilkinson and John Story.—Causes thereof.—They endeavour to form a Party, and cause a Division in Westmoreland.—Friends of that County refer the Matter to some Friends of the neighbouring Counties, who give Judgment against the Authors of the Separation—Which is confirmed by a general Meeting at Drawell.—The Subject of this Separation brought before the yearly Meeting.—William Penn writes upon this Subject.—Robert Barclay publishes his Anarchy of the Ranters—*Which draws upon him the Calumny of the Party.—William Rogers an advocate of their Cause.—Publishes a Book under the Title of* The Christian Quaker.—*Thomas Elwood and George Whitehead reply thereto.—William Rogers's Challenge to the yearly Meeting accepted.—He quits London suddenly.*

EVER since the king dissolved the Oxford parliament, the court triumphing in the depression of the country party, went beyond all bounds

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1683. State affairs.

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bounds of moderation; for beſides the violent invaſion of religious liberty in the oppreſſive perſecution of diſſenters, the whole power of the nation being wreſted by the executive part of the government without controul, the civil liberties and peculiar privileges of the ſubjects were not left uninfringed by the hand of arbitrary ſway. After the violence committed on the citizens of London, by extorting their charter into the king's hands, the other corporations were prevailed upon to deliver up theirs, and accept ſuch others as the court would grant; for after the city of London had been obliged to ſubmit, it ſeemed in vain for any other to withſtand a power too abſolute to be controuled. But although the ardor of oppoſition was damped, it was not extinguiſhed, but lay as embers ſmothered in the aſhes, ready to burſt into a flame, whenever it ſhould find vent.

Many of the country party, and particularly their leaders, viewing with extreme uneaſineſs the arbitrary proceedings of government, and conſidering the liberty and property of the ſubject as lying at the king's mercy, thought it requiſite that ſome meaſures ſhould be taken for the preſervation thereof, to which (it's like) they ſtill thought the excluſion of the Duke of York neceſſary, and for this purpoſe they held ſeveral conſultations, of which information being given to government, ſeveral perſons were taken up, tried, and executed for a plot againſt the King and the Duke of York, the principal of whom was Lord Ruſſel, ſon of the Earl of Bedford, who having ſhewn a determined zeal for the excluſion of the duke from the crown,

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is thought by many to have fallen a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the court, and that the charge of high treaſon was not legally proved againſt him; much leſs againſt Algernon Sidney, Eſq; who alſo loſt his life on a ſcaffold, on account of the ſame plot. CHAP. XV. 1683.

The diſcovery of this plot, whatever it was, and the executions conſequent thereto, gave new occaſion of exultation to the court party, and ſtrengthened the hands of the government and perſecuting magiſtrates, both by weakening the oppoſite party, and by furniſhing a plauſible pretext for rigorous meaſures under the maſk of vigilance for the public ſecurity, and guarding againſt plots. Through the rancour of party-prejudice the diſſenters in general were, by the reigning party, repreſented as rebels and plotters, and renewed occaſion taken from thence to proceed againſt them with freſh vigour; and the Quakers amongſt the reſt ſuffering under the weight of additional oppreſſion, and thinking themſelves called upon to take away the occaſion ſought againſt them, by exculpating their ſociety from any concern in plotting or acting againſt government, preſented the following addreſs:

To the KING.

"The humble addreſs of the People commonly "called Quakers:

"Oh King,

"The king of kings and lord of the whole "earth incline thy heart to do that which is "juſt and merciful in his ſight, and to make "ſuch clear and equal diſtinctions, as that the "innocent

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" innocent may not ſuffer in any caſe for the
" guilty, that it may ever redound to thy honour
" and ſafety, and thy peaceable ſubjects com-
" fort.

" Our innocency, love and good-will to thy
" perſon and the government, that God has
" committed to thee, encourage us in this our
" humble addreſs and application.

" Whereas the late plot againſt the king, and
" his brother the Duke of York, &c. is made
" an occaſion to perſecute many of us for our
" religious meetings more ſeverely than for-
" merly,

" We do ſolemnly declare, that 'tis known
" to the Divine Majeſty, and the all-ſeeing wiſ-
" dom whereby king's reign and princes decree
" juſtice, that our manifold, extreme and con-
" tinued ſufferings, being only on a religious
" account, have not been the leaſt motive or
" provocation to us to deſire, much leſs to con-
" trive, the leaſt hurt either to thy perſon or
" government, or to the perſon of thy brother
" the Duke of York, &c. We are clear in the
" ſight of God, angels and men, from all hel-
" liſh plots and traiterous conſpiracies, and from
" all murderous deſigns and undertakings
" againſt the king, his brother, or any perſon
" on earth whatſoever, being works of the
" devil and darkneſs; having contrarywiſe
" learned of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, by his light
" and grace in our hearts, not ſo much as by
" force to defend, much leſs avenge ourſelves
" for injuries done us, but to commit our
" cauſe to him that judgeth righteouſly, as
" peaceable followers of our Saviour and Re-
" deemer,

" deemer, in his patient example and ſufferings, CHAP.
" who is the prince of peace. XV.

" O king, we do further declare, that God
" Almighty hath taught and engaged us to ac- 1683.
" knowledge and actually to obey magiſtracy
" (as his ordinance) in all things not repug-
" nant to his law and light in our conſciences,
" which is certainly agreeable to the holy ſcrip-
" tures, and admits not of any immoral or in-
" jurious action. And that even, where through
" tenderneſs of conſcience we cannot conform,
" 'tis our duty patiently to ſuffer, and not to
" rebel nor ſeek revenge. And we hope, by
" his divine grace, ever to demean ourſelves as
" peaceable-minded Chriſtians, in our converſa-
" tions under the civil government. And as
" we do ſincerely and with reverence confeſs to
" divine power and providence in thy reſtora-
" tion, and the preſervation of thy perſon hi-
" therto, ſo our prayers and ſupplications are
" to the Almighty for thy future ſafety and
" peace; and that in a thankful remembrance
" of God's great mercies towards thee, thou
" mayeſt be thereby obliged to ſhew mercy, and
" to relieve the oppreſſed from theſe unmerited
" afflictions and perſecutions, which a great
" number of us, thy peaceable ſubjects, do
" even at this day ſuffer under, in our perſons
" and eſtates, not only by laws made againſt,
" but alſo by laws never intended againſt us;
" and which is more extreme, divers ſeverities
" of late have been, and ſtill are inflicted, for
" which no colour or pretence of law have
" been or can be alledged, ſeveral jails being
" ſo filled as that they want air, and many
" innocent perſons are held under extreme

" diſtreſs,

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"distress, without regard to age, sex or condition, to the loss of some lives already, and "apparent hazard of many more, if not to the "endangering infection in divers cities and "places in this nation; and many houses, "shops, barns and fields are ransacked, and "swept of goods, corn and cattle, tending also "to the great discouragement of trade and "husbandry, and to the impoverishing of a "great number of quiet and industrious peo-"ple, and for no other cause but for their re-"ligious worship, and the exercise of their "tender consciences towards Almighty God "that made them, who is the sovereign lord "of all, and king in men's consciences.

"Therefore we humbly intreat thee, O king, "in princely justice, christian charity and com-"passion, to open our prison doors, and take "off our bonds, relieve the innocent and op-"prest in thy land that fear God, and (in con-"versation) truly honour the king; and suffer "not the ruin of such as are quiet in the land, "nor of the widow and the fatherless, for their "peaceable consciences, to lie at the door of a "prince professing the tender and compassi-"onate religion of Christ."

Although the king (who did not naturally delight in cruelty) seemed affected with this exhibition of unreasonable and unmerited sufferings, and after George Whitehead, A. Parker, G. Latey and F. Camfield, who presented it, were withdrawn, expressed himself (as they were informed) to one of his courtiers standing by: "What shall we do for this people, the prisons "are full of them?" The party to whom he addressed

dreſſed this query, to divert his attention there- CHAP. XV.
from, drew him into converſation upon ſome other topick, ſo that little or no relaxation of the oppreſſive meaſures reſulted from this addreſs, nor during the remainder of this monarch's reign. 1683.

Riſe of the ſeparation of John Wilkinſon, John Story, &c.

While the people called Quakers were thus harraſſed by perſecution from others, there had ariſen a diſſent among themſelves, which was now of ſome years ſtanding. It took its riſe from a difference of ſentiment in relation to church diſcipline, a matter not eaſily ſettled, ſo as to guard againſt the ſubjecting of conſcience to an undue eccleſiaſtical authority on one hand, or an unlimited liberty introducing anarchy and confuſion on the other. And although the diſcipline eſtabliſhed among this people appears calculated to avoid each extreme, as it relates to moral conduct more than to nice ſpeculative points of religion; yet almoſt from its firſt eſtabliſhment, jealouſies were entertained thereof, and the eſtabliſhment oppoſed by ſeveral of the members from different motives: By ſome from diſguſt, becauſe they could not obtain that pre-eminence among their brethren which they wiſhed for, without merit to procure it, nor obtain ſuch weight of influence over their meetings, as to carry things always as they deſired; by others from a want to take a greater latitude of conduct than the ſelf-denying principles of the ſociety allowed; to refrain the attendance of religious meetings for fear of human penalties, and pay tithes and ſuch-like demands to evade ſuffering. Theſe were averſe to a diſcipline circumſcribing their conduct within limits they were inclined to tranſgreſs, and for which they did

Cauſes thereof.

CHAP. XV. 1675.

did not wiſh to come under cenſure or controul. Others miſtook a regulation ſolely deſigned to guard the practice of the members from enormity, and in a regularity of life and manners, conſiſtent with the purity of their profeſſion, for an attempt to force upon conſcience an uniformity of worſhip, and ſpeculative notions, and to ſubject them to eccleſiaſtical power. Theſe apprehenſions ſecretly ſpreading in the hearts, and private converſations of the diſſatisfied, at length broke out in a public oppoſition to the body of the ſociety, and chiefly to the moſt diſtinguiſhed members thereof.

The leaders of this oppoſition were two north-countrymen, John Wilkinſon and John Story; who having appeared as miniſters, and not keeping in the humility becoming their ſtations, but thinking of themſelves more highly than they ought to think, began to conſider themſelves as elders worthy of pre-eminence, and to look for greater deference, than the moſt ſenſible part of their brethren thought it right to pay them; who rather warned them of the danger they appeared to be in, of loſing themſelves, by indulging an aſpiring mind. Such admonitions were very ungrateful and mortifying to their pride, and perceiving thereby that they were not in the honourable eſtimation with their friends of ſound judgment, which they affected, they let in a diſguſt and grudging againſt them; and to ſtrengthen themſelves, endeavoured to gain adherents from amongſt the looſer and weaker members of the ſociety, by ſoothing doctrines to the favourers of libertiniſm, vilifying the religious care of friends to preſerve them in an orderly and chriſtian converſation and practice, as

They endeavour to form a party,

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an impoſition on their goſpel liberty; and by wily inſinuations to the more ſimple and honeſt, as if the body of friends were apoſtatized from their original principles, and inſtead of referring them for direction to the light in themſelves, were now drawing them off therefrom to the doctrines of men. By ſuch means drawing a party into their own ſentiments and views, they cauſed a rent and diviſion in the quarterly meeting of Weſtmoreland, to which they belonged. The judicious members of this meeting with pain obſerving the dangerous tendency of theſe proceedings, to deſtroy the peace of ſociety, and to introduce contention into their meetings, eſtabliſhed for edification; to prevent the hurt and wounding the peace of mind naturally reſulting from unedifying diſputes, uſed chriſtian endeavours to reclaim them, by calm reaſoning to convince them of the prejudicial conſequences of their litigious proceedings to themſelves and to the ſociety, by earneſt entreaties to return to a ſtate of greater humility and nearer unity with the body of which they profeſſed themſelves members; but all their endeavours were fruſtrated, by means of the unreaſonable prejudice which they had imbibed againſt the moſt conſiderable members of their own meetings, and of the ſociety at large; looking upon it, it's like, in the prevailing vanity of their minds, as a more ſplendid ſituation, to be leaders of a party in the wrong, than to loſe their diſtinction by ranking again with a ſociety, amongſt whom the ſuperior qualifications of many members in capacity and virtue might involve them amongſt the common maſs, and with whom their credit, they imagined, was impaired; ſo that

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and cauſe a diviſion in the Quarterly meeting of Weſtmoreland.

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that they treated all the well-meant endeavours of their beſt friends, for their own and the general good, with contempt, and perſiſted in their oppoſition with a ſpirit which threatened an open breach; to prevent which, if poſſible, the quarterly meeting of Weſtmoreland thought it expedient to refer the caſe to the judgment of unprejudiced friends of the neighbouring counties, who had had no concern in the differences amongſt them, and accordingly at their requeſt ſix of the moſt eminent and judicious friends of Cumberland, (amongſt whom was John Burnyeat, from whoſe narrative this extract is made) and ſeveral of Yorkſhire, went over to a meeting appointed by the ſaid quarterly meeting, on purpoſe to hear and determine the matter of difference; but their opponents would not appear, though duly apprized of time and place, but by letter refuſed to come, and diſowned the meeting.

Friends of Weſtmoreland endeavour to have the matter referred to indifferent friends of the neighbouring counties,

Theſe friends of the adjacent counties being unwilling to come to a judgment without hearing both parties concerned face to face, deſired another meeting, to which friends of Weſtmoreland readily aſſenting, it was appointed at Milthrop next day, and the ſaid mediators themſelves went as meſſengers to Wilkinſon, Story and others, to deſire their attendance at the meeting; but they were ſo elevated in their minds, and ſo confident in their own opinion, that they treated them, their meſſage and cordial advice, with ſlight and contempt; and by their reflections and conduct manifeſting their ſpirits to be wrong, and that they were not by any means to be reconciled to their friends, or to be prevailed upon to come to a candid and

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ſober diſcuſſion of the ſubjects of their diſcontent, or to meet the complainants face to face. The friends called in as mediators having heard them in ſuch manner as they could, proceeded to give a ſecond hearing to thoſe of the meeting aggrieved, which having done, they withdrew to conſider the whole matter among themſelves; and having taken down the heads in writing, after a ſolid conference thereupon, they came unanimouſly to the judgment, That ſeeing theſe men had ſet themſelves againſt every approach to a reconciliation, and ſlighted the tendereſt advice, entreaties and perſuaſions that could be extended to them, they had diſſolved the bonds of unity with the ſociety, by a publick oppoſition to the good order eſtabliſhed therein; and appearing determined to continue in their oppoſition, and they having cleared themſelves by tender admonition to them, that they were now authorized to teſtify againſt them and their ſpirit; and accordingly drew up a teſtimony, and left it with friends of the quarterly meeting of Weſtmoreland. Theſe meetings were held the latter-end of the year 1675.

1675. who give judgment againſt the authors of the ſeparation.

This judgment encreaſing the diſcontent and clamour of this reſtleſs party, who ſeem to have had a life in contention and railing; the ſociety, out of condeſcenſion, to make another trial if they could at all be won upon, appointed a meeting at Drawell, near Sedbergh in Yorkſhire, on the border of Weſtmoreland, to give them a fair opportunity of being heard upon the ſubjects of their diſcontent. The friends who had before drawn up the teſtimony againſt them attended, with many other ancient friends from

1676. Meeting at Drawell.

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1676.

from other parts, and gave theſe diſſatisfied perſons a full hearing. They ſpent four days ſucceſſively in the patient and full enquiry into the diſagreeable ſubject of this difference, and plainly perceiving that it proceeded from a ſpirit of contention and oppoſition to the introduction of regularity and good order into the ſociety, they beſought them, with an affectionate tenderneſs, to return to that love and pacifick diſpoſition, which cements the community in union and mutual benevolence; but ſtill, all endeavours proving ineffectual to reclaim them, and they obſtinately perſiſting in their oppoſition, this meeting alſo, enlarged by the attendance of elders and unprejudiced members from ſeveral parts, confirmed the judgment of the former, which diſturbed the opponents ſo far, that they ſoon after detached themſelves entirely from the ſociety, and ſet up a ſeparate meeting.

After a full hearing confirm the judgment.

The yearly meeting takes the matter into conſideration.

The yearly meeting ſoon after coming on, this diviſion in Weſtmoreland, with other important matters, engaged the attention and conſideration thereof. In reſult the ſaid meeting wrote two epiſtles, one of caution and advice to Wilkinſon and Story, as leaders of the oppoſition, to diſſolve their ſeparate meeting, and to be reconciled to their brethren, before they went abroad to offer their gift; the other epiſtle was directed to their meeting, adviſing them to withdraw therefrom, and return to their former fellowſhip with the ſociety. Yet ſtill the well-meant advice of their friends had no prevalent effect with the greater number, as the arrogance, obſtinacy and bitterneſs of their ſpirits

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ſpirits ſeemed the more confirmed by all the endeavours uſed to allay them.

1676. W. Penn writes upon the ſubject of this diviſion,

This difference about church diſcipline drew from William Penn a ſmall treatiſe, entitled *A brief Examination of Liberty ſpiritual*, deſigned to inform the judgments of the diſſatisfied. Robert Barclay alſo took up his pen upon the ſame occaſion, and handled the ſubject more copiouſly, in a piece under the title of *The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romaniſts and other pretended Churches, equally refuſed and refuted.* In which, with his uſual clearneſs and ſtrength of reaſoning, he vindicated the diſcipline eſtabliſhed amongſt this people againſt thoſe, who accuſe them of confuſion and diſorder on one hand, and ſuch as calumniate them with tyranny and impoſition on the other: He drew upon himſelf much reproach and invective from theſe ſeparatiſts, who imagined his work was pointed at their diſſent, and found his arguments too concluſive to anſwer. [a] They called his ſincerity in his profeſſion in queſtion, inſinuating he might be popiſhly affected, if not a papiſt, being educated in France under an uncle that was a papiſt, if not a prieſt, and maintained church authority upon the ſame principles, which the Romaniſts have done: But what will not prejudice miſrepreſent? He all along maintains it on different principles, and much of the work is employed in ſhewing the difference.

and Robert Barclay his Anarchy of the Ranters,

which draws the calumny of the party upon him.

Of theſe leaders of ſeparation, Story was the more conſiderable among their partizans, [b] and more

[a] Preface to Barclay's works.

[b] T. Elwood.

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more active in propagating the diſſent in other parts of the nation. For this purpoſe he travelled in ſundry parts, but it was in Briſtol and ſome of the weſtern counties that he gained moſt adherents; amongſt theſe, William Rogers, a merchant of Briſtol, a bold and active man, entertaining a high opinion of his own capacity and abilities, ſtood forth as champion of their cauſe: He firſt diſcovered himſelf as ſuch in advancing ſundry objections to Robert Barclay's book, which he handed about in manuſcript about the year 1677; upon which, at Robert Barclay's requeſt, he met him in London, in order that by a cool and moderate conference before divers friends from different parts of the nation, Robert Barclay might have an opportunity of explaining the paſſages objected to, which he apprehended William Rogers had miſunderſtood, in order that by ſatisfying and convincing him of his miſtakes, an unedifying controverſy might be prevented. In conſequence of this conference, William Rogers wrote a letter to his friends, in which is the following paſſage: "The meeting was this day had, and "in it a *chriſtian* and *very fair* debate, to the "ſatisfaction of both of us, as far as I can un- "derſtand; and the matters chiefly objected by "me were fairly and brother like, and in much "love, diſcourſed; and upon the whole matter "I am ſatisfied, that Robert Barclay is not "principled ſo as I and others have taken his "book to import."

W. Rogers advocates the cauſe of the Separatiſts.

Yet notwithſtanding this fair conceſſion, apparent candour often wants a bottom of ſincerity with thoſe who have ſuffered their tempers to be imbittered with the ſpirit of party. Some months after

after this the ſaid William Rogers and his adherents wrote ſundry other papers againſt Robert Barclay's book and principles, not devoid of uncharitable reflections upon the author, and ſpread them abroad unknown to him, while he was confined in priſon at Aberdeen. This ungenerous treatment occaſioned Robert Barclay to write a vindication and explanatory poſtſcript to his *Anarchy of the Ranters*, in order to give ſatisfaction to all of the ſociety, but thoſe who through prejudice ſeemed reſolved not to be ſatisfied. CHAP. XV. 1676.

In the year 1682 William Rogers appeared in print in a quarto volume, to which he gave the pompous title of *The Chriſtian Quaker, diſtinguiſhed from the Apoſtate and Innovator*, under the former deſcription comprehending himſelf and his own party, and repreſenting the main body of the ſociety as apoſtates and innovators. This book, which ſoon ſunk into oblivion, was more remarkable for paſſionate intemperance of language than ſoundneſs of reaſoning, abounding in perſonal invectives againſt many of the moſt eminent members of this ſociety, but the chief force of the envy of him and his party was pointed at George Fox, as being the inſtrument of eſtabliſhing that good order which they wanted to have conſidered as a grievance[e]. Both their diſcourſes and writings manifeſted the deep prejudice, they had imbibed againſt this irreproachable character, which anſwered not their deſign of leſſening him, or exalting themſelves, or their cauſe in the eyes of the ſociety, or the world; but afforded him an opportunity of manifeſting W. Rogers publiſhes an abuſive book under the title of the Chriſtian Quaker, &c.

[e] William Penn's preface.

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his ſteady adherence to the inward principle of truth, and the firmneſs of his mind in a new light, being preſerved by conſcious innocence in a rectitude and dignity of conduct, as ſuperior to wrath from the ſhafts of envy, as to fear from the oppreſſion of power; he bore all their weakneſs and malice with invincible patience, forgave all their bitter ſpeeches, praying for them, that they might recover a ſound mind, not returning reflection for reflection, but charitably endeavouring to convince them of the danger of the error into which they were fallen, and the hurt they had ſuſtained thereby; and by verbal admonitions and various epiſtles to preſerve the ſociety at large from being entangled in the like ſnare, laying open the ſubtilty of that ſpirit by which they were actuated, in entertaining and ſpreading groundleſs jealouſies of the religious care of friends over each other for their good.

The aforementioned performance of William Rogers meeting with great applauſe from his own party, encreaſed his vanity to that degree, that he came up to the yearly meeting at London in 1682; and at the concluſion thereof he gave notice in writing to this effect, viz. "that if "any were diſſatisfied with his book, he was "there ready to maintain and defend, both it and "himſelf againſt all oppoſers." This vaunting challenge was neither dreaded nor ſlighted, but an anſwer immediately returned him in writing, that "as many were diſſatisfied with his book "and him, he ſhould not fail (God willing) to "be met by the ſixth hour next morning at the "meeting place at Devonſhire houſe."

William Rogers's challenge to the yearly meeting accepted.

The

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The meeting was held accordingly and continued till noon, when it appeared that [c] notwithſtanding his vaunt he was not equal to the taſk he had undertaken; for although he was attended by many of his party to abet and aſſiſt him, he was ſo fairly foiled, and his errors and petulancy ſo fully expoſed, that he quitted both the meeting and the city abruptly, refuſing a ſecond meeting, which was offered for the further diſcuſſion of the ſubject of difference, leaving this frivolous excuſe for his precipitate retreat, that he had before given earneſt for his paſſage in the ſtage coach home, and was not willing to loſe it.

T. Elwood and George Whitehead's reply.

This book of his did not paſs unanſwered. Thomas Elwood publiſhed a reply, under the title of *An Antidote againſt the Infection of William Rogers's book, miſcalled the Chriſtian Quaker*, anſwering it paragraphically. To which it doth not appear that any rejoinder was ever given. George Whitehead alſo publiſhed remarks upon it, in a piece, entitled *The Accuſer of the Brethren caſt down.*

Remark.

It hath been remarked, that the eſtabliſhing of diſcipline, and inſtituting of men's and women's meetings for the ſupporting thereof, was the original cauſe of this diſſent and temporary ſeparation. The ſeparatiſts urging againſt them, that every man having received a meaſure of the ſpirit of God, ought to follow that as his leader, without regarding the preſcriptions of men; that thoſe meetings of diſcipline were therefore needleſs, as being employed in preſcribing rules to the members of the ſociety, and requiring their obſervance thereof, drawing an invidious parallel be-

[c] T. Elwood.

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tween them and the Romiſh councils and their decrees; that ſuch meetings and rules were an impoſition upon conſcience, and in them ſome men were ſet up to uſurp authority in the church over their brethren; that nothing ought to be given forth in the church of Chriſt but by way of advice or recommendation; and that every man ought to be left at his liberty to act according to the light of his own conſcience without cenſure, or being accountable to any man, but only to God, the ſole proper judge of conſcience.

Againſt women's meetings they more particularly objected, as uſurping authority in the church, contrary to the apoſtle Paul's prohibition.

In ſupport of the diſcipline introduced into the ſociety it was advanced, in oppoſition to ſuch arguments; that the Spirit of God is one and the ſame in all, and leads all who are faithful to its dictates into all truth and righteouſneſs, into unity and brotherly kindneſs; that God, who, according to the apoſtle's teſtimony, is a God of order and not of confuſion, doth not by his Spirit lead any into confuſion and diſorder; but that they who walk in the light, as he is in the light, have fellowſhip one with another; that therefore the only rational ground of diſſent, as following the leadings of the Spirit, without regarding the preſcriptions of men, muſt be, becauſe theſe preſcriptions are oppoſite to, or inconſiſtent with, the dictates of the Spirit of God; that the ſcriptures of truth are allowed to be written by holy men of old, as they were inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, and this Spirit is not inconſiſtent with itſelf; if therefore theſe preſcriptions

ſcriptions of men are conſonant to and confirmed by the ſcriptures, he who follows the leadings of the Spirit can have no reaſon to reject preſcriptions dictated by the ſame Spirit, or regulated by that rule which is univerſally acknowledged by Chriſtians to have been dictated thereby, that therefore this argument, plauſible as it may appear, proves nothing, 'till the preſcriptions be firſt proved inconſiſtent with the ſcriptures of truth or right reaſon, which they apprehended, had not been done in the caſe between the ſociety and the diſcontented party. That the parallel attempted to be drawn between the church government adopted by friends, and that of the church of Rome, was ill founded, their principles and ſpirit in the adminiſtration of this government, and the ends to which it was directed, being quite different both in nature and object: In nature, as not being coercive or penal upon the perſons or eſtates of ſuch as diſſent, and that not only for want of power, but becauſe ſuch penalties are unauthorized by the Goſpel and primitive practice of the church; in object, becauſe the former regards matters of faith and worſhip, but the latter only orderly conduct, agreeable to the principles of the ſociety.

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Hence the plea of liberty of conſcience, which hath been reaſonably advanced by proteſtants againſt the hierarchy of the church of Rome, as eſtabliſhing articles of faith, inſtitutions of worſhip, and ceremonious obſervations, for which they have no authority from ſcripture, or the primitive practice of the church, is groundleſsly or abſurdly advanced in oppoſition to the diſcipline of this ſociety: For although we may reaſonably plead a ſcruple of conſcience againſt acknowledging

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ledging ſuch an article of faith, or practiſing ſuch an inſtitution of worſhip as hath not God for the object; yet we cannot reaſonably plead the like ſcruple againſt ſupporting the poor, viſiting the ſick, ending differences, reproving the licentious, reclaiming backſliders; neither againſt punctuality to our engagements; doing juſtly and living temperately; nor againſt obtaining the conſent of parents and relations concerned in caſes of marriage; or to give them, or the ſociety ſatisfaction as to clearneſs from all others; and to wait previous to marriage for due enquiry to be made thereinto. That in ſociety, meetings of diſcipline are ſo far from being needleſs; that they are both neceſſary and uſeful for attaining the beſt ends of uniting together in ſociety. All ſocieties, for inſtance, have poor, ſick and aged members, widows and orphans, who demand the care of the body; this care cannot be taken effectually without ſome method; nor that method univerſally ſettled but by the deliberation and concurrence of the community: And further, all ſocieties marry, trade and converſe, and have one time or other ſome who are unjuſt, litigious, licentious, and others, who may not fall under the cenſure of thoſe without, yet violate the teſtimony and principles upon which they joined themſelves in fellowſhip. Has then the ſociety no power to eſtabliſh ſuch regulations as may prevent diſorder and ſcandal? And is not the body at large the propereſt judge to deliberate and determine, what is the fitteſt method to be purſued in ſuch caſes? That although God be the only proper judge of conſcience, and man be accountable to him alone for the inward perſuaſion and frame of his mind, yet for his viſible

ble conduct and converſation, which are cogni- CHAP.
zable to men, he is accountable not only to civil XV.
but alſo to religious ſociety, while he continueth 1682.
a member thereof, becauſe the reputation of the ſociety is virtually intereſted therein, and may be materially injured by a deviation from the rectitude of conduct profeſſed by them, as a conſequence of their principles; and that to preſerve a conſiſtency of conduct with virtuous, juſt and benevolent principles, a chriſtian community or church, properly ſo called, hath a power not only to iſſue advice and recommendations, but to eſtabliſh rules of diſcipline for regulating this external conduct, having the precedent of the chriſtian church in its pureſt ſtate; for we are clearly informed in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that they made rules for the conduct of the members of the church, and diſperſed them to the believers for their obſervation. *As they went through the cities they delivered them the decrees for to keep, which were ordained of the Apoſtles and Elders which were at Jeruſalem. And the churches were eſtabliſhed in the faith, and increaſed in numbers daily.* Acts xvi. 4, 5.

And as to their objections to the women's meetings which were eſtabliſhed in ſuffering times for the purpoſes of aſſiſting in the care of the poor, the ſick and the impriſoned, the apoſtle's prohibition affects them not; it being abſurd to imagine that he ever meant to diſcourage religious women from cultivating the natural tenderneſs of their hearts, and following the impulſe thereof, inclining them to acts of charity, in extending a tender care towards their friends in priſon, the poor or the afflicted; and although, ſince that time, a motherly, watchful care over their own ſex,

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ſex, to preſerve them in an orderly converſation hath been devolved upon them, as the propereſt to adviſe and counſel in many caſes; yet their meetings have no aſpect of uſurping authority over the man, as they have neither any overſight of the men's meeting, nor were their own meetings and ſervices eſtabliſhed but in compliance with the deſire and directions of the men, from the conſideration of the uſefulneſs thereof.

In fine, the independency claimed by the diſcontented party is incompatible with the exiſtence of ſociety; abſolute independency in ſociety being a contradiction in terms. Walking by the ſame rule, holding the ſame principles, and purſuing the ſame end, being the outward bond of communion betwixt the members of every viſible ſociety. Take all theſe away, and the ſociety is diſſolved, and reverts again to unconnected individuals.

The juſtneſs of this reaſoning was proved by the event, for theſe ſeparatiſts, like the ranters, ſeekers and other independent ſocieties, found themſelves too looſely compacted to adhere long together; their connexion was ſo ſlight that it was ſoon diſſolved, the more ſincere coming in time to perceive the cauſeleſsneſs of their ſeparation, re-united themſelves to the body of the ſociety, and the reſt ſoon fell to pieces and dwindled away.

1684. Public occurrences.

The principal part of the public hiſtory of this year conſiſts of proſecutions, many of them conducted in a manner in nowiſe to the credit of the promoters or conductors thereof, and of penalties and puniſhments enormouſly diſproportioned to the charges brought againſt the defendants. The courts of juſtice, ſo termed, ſeem

ſeem in many caſes to have been influenced in their judgment merely by the vindictive temper of party hatred; and the juries, influenced by them, and choſen from men of like temper, ſeem in their verdicts to have paid more regard to the accommodating of the wiſh of the bench, than the depoſitions of the evidence, or the obligation of their oaths *. In theſe circumſtances of affairs the diſſenters, who were ranked in the vanquiſhed party, had little room to hope for eaſe. The Quakers renewed their application for relief

* Of this we meet with a remarkable inſtance in the courſe of this year, in the trial of Thomas Roſewell, diſſenting miniſter of Rotherhithe, who was accuſed by three women of having uttered treaſonable expreſſions in a ſermon. They ſwore to two or three periods, and agreed exactly in their depoſitions. Yet Roſewell, in his defence, proved theſe women to be of abandoned and infamous characters; and as to the ſermon of which he was accuſed, ſeveral witneſſes who heard it, and ſome who wrote it in ſhort hand, depoſed that he had uſed no ſuch expreſſions, as were ſworn againſt him: The expreſſions were ſo groſs that no man in his ſenſes could be ſuppoſed to uſe them before a mixed audience: It was alſo urged that it was next to impoſſible that three women could remember ſo long a period on one ſingle hearing, who had forgot the text of his ſermon, and could not remember one ſingle paſſage but the words they had depoſed. In ſhort, he defended himſelf ſo ably, that the Solicitor-General made no reply. Yet judge Jeffries, who preſided at the trial, railing in his uſual manner againſt conventicles and non-conformiſts, that all preaching at conventicles was treaſonable, ſo inflamed the party prejudice of the jury, that they made no difficulty to bring him in *guilty*. But the palpable injuſtice of his ſentence being almoſt univerſally condemned, as no better than legal murder, the king, abaſhed at the exorbitant lengths to which the pliant judges and juries now carried their partial reſentments, prevented the execution of the ſentence, by granting him a pardon.

* Neale, Hume.

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1684. Sufferings continued.

relief from their grievous ſufferings, but with no better ſucceſs than before; the informers and perſecuting magiſtrates aſſuming new ſpirit from the late executions, and pretending freſh occaſion from the diſcovery of the late plot, continued to perſecute them by all the variety of penal laws.

Informers inſolent.

The informers harraſſed them with inſolence *, perjury and rapine, upon the conventicle act, 'till

* William Bond, of Bridport in Dorſetſhire, at this time an active informer, was a bailiff, and kept an alehouſe; this Bond, and one Bryan, a lad he had trained to his hand, would make information at all adventures. He came to a ſilent meeting, and went away and ſwore that a preacher was there. He would ſometimes carry priſoners to his houſe, and keep them there a month together. He had impudence enough to command and inſult the conſtables and other officers, and even the juſtices. He ſeized the goods of John Newberry to the value of 30l. for a fine of 5l. He in concert with William Darby, conſtable, pulled the friends out of the meeting houſe one by one, and carried two of them to his houſe, where he kept them priſoners. Darby at another time turned the friends out, and nailed up the doors of the meeting houſe, ſending eight of them to Bond's houſe, where they were put in a narrow ſtinking chamber for four days, men and women together, and not ſuffered to go out upon any neceſſary occaſion: A bed being ſent to one of them, Bond and his wife took it away, he telling them, *they ſhould have no law.*

William Kenway, of Bridport, being fined 5l. for himſelf and others meeting there, Bond and Darby broke open his doors, kept poſſeſſion of his houſe two days and two nights, drank up his beer, and burned up his wood. They carried off all they could find within or without doors to the value of 13l. threatening withal, that if he brought any more goods into the houſe they would take them, inſomuch that the man with his family were conſtrained, in the depth of winter, to remove his habitation out of the town. This Bond is repreſented to have been a man of a ſeared conſcience, infamous character and debauched morals, and ſupported in extravagant living by the plunder of honeſt men's ſubſtance.

Neither

'till they left ſome of them neither a bed, nor even a ſtool to ſit upon, ſo that whole families who

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Neither age nor ſex, nor infirmity, moved the mercileſs informers or magiſtrates to compaſſion or humanity. Five women were taken by an informer and conſtable from a meeting at Ipſwich, and carried before the bailiff of the town, who committed them to priſon; three of them were near eighty years of age, and one of theſe alſo blind, ſo that ſhe was led between two men to the bailiff's houſe. This magiſtrate's zeal exceeded his charity or his judgment: Could he apprehend any danger to government from an aſſembly of a few infirm old women?

One John Smith, and one Warner in Leiceſterſhire, made themſelves remarkably conſpicuous in all the infamous qualifications of informers; they would ſometimes make their informations upon mere conjecture, whereby two of this ſociety ſuffered ſevere diſtreſs for a fine for a meeting they had not been at, the juſtice being as forward to convict as they to inform. Smith, meeting another on the highway, poſitively ſwore before the ſame juſtice Lyſter what he only imagined, and obtained a warrant to diſtrain, by which he took from the man four cows worth 14l. One Mary Wood being fined on the information of theſe men, they ſtripped her of all her effects, leaving her nothing to lie on or ſcarce to ſit on. But amongſt the numbers proſecuted by theſe two men, and plundered by their extravagant diſtraints, the caſe of John Fox was peculiarly pitiable. A meeting was ſometime kept at his houſe, upon which account theſe men perſecuted him with information after information, and diſtraint upon diſtraint for fines of 20l. a time 'till they ſtript him almoſt entirely, taking away even the meat in the houſe, and his caſks of beer, ripping up the matting from the floor, and digging up a copper furnace and carrying it away, at the ſame time rudely abuſing him, and calling him ill names, becauſe upon viewing the warrant, reading a clauſe mentioning more than five perſons beſide the family, he ſaid it was not true. About two weeks after this, hearing that the poor man (made ſuch by their rapine) had got ſome bedding and other neceſſaries into his houſe for his family (ſome of whom for want of beds had been obliged to lodge elſewhere) they came again with officers, and Smith, in the aſſumed importance of his office, menaced the legal officers,

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who had ſupported themſelves in decency were reduced to the neceſſity of relying upon the humanity of their neighbours for a night's lodging; and, as if the penalty of the conventicle act, unreaſonably ſevere as it was, was yet inadequate to the rapacity and avarice of theſe informers and

ficers, *If they left any thing in the houſe to the value of a penny he would make it coſt them* 5*l. a man*; upon which they ſwept away all they could find. The ſufferer, his wife, children and ſervants were conſtrained to lodge at other houſes, having neither bed nor bed cloaths left, by which they and their children contracted great colds, it being in the depth of winter. The goods taken at this time were valued at upwards of 8l. 10s. and ſold to Warner, informer, for 2l. 2s. 6d. At laſt this ſociety was relieved from Smith's perſecution by an order of king James to the juſtices of Leiceſterſhire to give no ſort of countenance to him or his proſecutions. *Beſſe paſſim.*

Henry Gates in Suſſex was fined 40l. for preaching, for which he had goods ſeized to the value of 160l. One Calvert Briſtow, a neighbour, obſerving the ſpoil, treated with the officers, who aſſigned him all the goods, on condition of his paying 40l. He took away as much as he thought ſufficient to anſwer that ſum, leaving the reſt with Henry Gates, the owner: he then offered to pay the 40l. to the juſtices, upon their making him a valid ſale of the goods: this they refuſed to do, and directed him to keep the money 'till the ſeſſions. Upon this the informers, Henry and Matthew Marrian, conceived a grudge againſt Briſtow for concerning himſelf in this affair, and hindering them from the ſpoil they aimed at. Wherefore they endeavoured to ſuborn one Bennet to ſwear treaſon againſt him. Bennet, though a very bad man, was not ſo hardened in wickedneſs as to undertake ſo black a buſineſs, but diſcovered their deſign to Briſtow, and alſo made oath of their attempt before a magiſtrate: Upon which the Marrians were ſent to jail. There one of them confeſſed the whole affair, and afterwards they were bailed out in order to anſwer it at the aſſizes. However in the concluſion Calvert Briſtow was obliged to pay in to the juſtices about 64l. 5s. and to repay himſelf out of Henry Gates's goods, as aforeſaid, ſold to him.

and perſecuting magiſtrates, in numerous inſtances they reſorted to the more ruinous one of 23 Eliz. for 20l. * a month for abſence from the national worſhip, whereby numbers ſuffered repeated and exorbitant ſeizures of their effects, to the great damage or ruin of their outward circumſtances. They continued to be proſecuted in the Exchequer for their tithes; in the eccleſiaſtical courts to excommunication, and to premunire for not ſwearing. The trials for riots, of which we have given ſome examples in former years, were ſtill in uſe, and the defendants generally brought in guilty, impriſoned and fined by the partial judges and juries of this corrupt and licentious age,

* From ſeveral perſons in Bucks goods were ſeized under this act, amounting to 295l. in value, which were diſpoſed of by public ſale for 90l. 2s. 6d. leſs than one-third of the real value. From one friend, excluſive of the above, were taken three geldings worth 23l. and when he appealed to the quarter ſeſſions, his appeal not being in Latin, was rejected and treble coſts given againſt him, for which his horſes and other goods were taken to the value of 40l.

Several friends in Cheſhire were diſtrained under the ſame act to the amount of 146l. 11s. 2d.

In Hertfordſhire from a few friends were taken goods to the amount of 190l. and upwards.

In Norfolk John and William Roe, farmers, having been proſecuted on the ſtatute for 20l. a month for twelve months abſence from the national worſhip, the ſheriffs officers came to their houſe to make a ſeizure for 240l. and accordingly ſeized all their cattle, corn and houſehold goods, to the value of 183l. 4s. The behaviour of the officers and aſſiſtants was very rude: They broke open the doors, drawers and cheſts, and threatened the ſervants with ſword and piſtol. To make themſelves merry they roaſted a pig, and laid ſo much wood on the hearth that they ſet the chimney on fire, which, with their revelling, curſing and ſwearing, affrighted W. Roe's wife to the endangering of her life, cauſing her to miſcarry a ſhort time after.

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age, and the priſons to be crowded with freſh priſoners of this ſociety, in addition to thoſe already confined. To detain the reader with a detail of all the particular inſtances of oppreſſion they underwent appearing a needleſs repetition of ſimilar caſes, after a recital of ſo many preceding, I ſhall content myſelf with a few notes, as before, in confirmation of this general account thereof.

Account of William Bennet,

This year died William Bennet of Woodbridge in Suffolk, a man of a religious turn of mind from his infancy. This religious inclination encreaſing with his years, incited him to ſeek out and aſſociate with the ſtricteſt ſort of profeſſors, and with this view he frequented the meetings of the independents for ſome time, as appearing to him the neareſt to purity in profeſſion; but upon his more intimate acquaintance with them he became diſſatisfied with his choice. When hearing the public teſtimony of ſome of the people called Quakers, he was ſo affected therewith that he joined their ſociety, and continued therein a ſteady, ſerviceable and honourable member till his death. He received a gift in the miniſtry, and travelled in many parts of England in the exerciſe thereof, to the edification of his friends, and convincement of others; adorning his profeſſion and doctrine by the innocence and integrity of his life, in ſo eminent a manner as to gain univerſal eſteem, and to extort even from the adverſaries of his profeſſion a confeſſion of his perſonal merit. Yet his ſufferings were remarkable, he appears to have ſpent, at leaſt in the latter part of his life, nearly as much, if not more time in priſon, than in the enjoyment of his liberty, not for any real of-

his frequent impriſonments.

fence,

fence, but for preſerving the teſtimony of a good conſcience. At Bliborough, in 1661, I apprehend in the general impriſonment in conſequence of the riſing of the fifth-monarchy-men. In 1662, he, with ſeveral men and women, was taken out of a meeting at Yarmouth, and ſent to priſon, where they were confined all together in a noiſome unhealthy dungeon, without convenient food, lodging, or other neceſſaries; at the ſucceeding ſeſſions the women were ſet at liberty; and not long after the Recorder releaſed the men alſo, no cauſe of their impriſonment appearing, nor any legal proceſs againſt them. The bailiffs, diſpleaſed at their releaſe, preſently committed them again by a new mittimus, of which deſiring a copy they received a poſitive refuſal. How long this impriſonment continued I meet with no account. In or about 1664 he was again impriſoned in Norwich caſtle with fifteen others, who were taken from their religious meetings, and committed for refuſing to ſwear: He was again confined in the jail of Edmundſbury in 1665, and ſuffered a very ſevere, diſtreſſing and tedious impriſonment there; being kept (much of the time) among felons, for the greateſt part of eight years, ſo cloſely, as ſcarce to go over the threſhold for five years together. At laſt the king's declaration in 1672 delivered him from the hands of his cruel perſecutors. Laſtly, in the year 1683, the parochial officers of Woodbridge, excited thereto by Edward Brume, prieſt of that place, came to the meeting there, when a church-warden and conſtable ſeized William Bennet with violence whilſt on his knees at prayer, and haled him and ſeveral others before Edward Jenny, juſtice, who committed them

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them to Melton jail, where William Bennet was closely confined until the sessions, when he was indicted for being at a riotous assembly; he used many arguments to prove the religious meetings he frequented were peaceable, and purely to worship God, and pleaded Not guilty to the indictment: Being then required to give bail for his appearance at another sessions, and for his good behaviour, for his refusal he was committed, and brought with others upon his trial before Christopher Melton, chairman: He pleaded his cause with so much force of reason, that the jury brought in their verdict Not guilty. At which the chairman being displeased, persuaded them to return and alter their verdict, upon which they brought him in guilty of being present at an unlawful assembly: The chairman ordered William to be carried to Ipswich the same day in order to be fined, it being the sharpest time of that winter, so remarkable for extremity of cold; in going thither he received much wet, it snowing hard all the way; and coming thither late, and many other prisoners with him, for want of a bed he was obliged to sit up all night in that wet cold condition, which so weakened him, who was naturally of a tender constitution, that he never got the better of it. At the sessions there he was fined 20l. and sent back to prison. At the succeeding sessions he was called again, when no mention was made of the fine; but the court pretending they had a particular order from the king to deal with him, tendered him the oath of allegiance, and upon his refusal took an additional occasion of continuing him in prison. These different modes of persecuting this innocent man shew the

On his trial,

the jury bring him in not guilty, are persuaded to alter their verdict.

He is sent to Ipswich in very cold weather,

and being much wet, takes cold, which he never got free from.

Fined 20l. and re-committed.

the unrelenting malice of the ruling party at this time, and the determined reſolution of his perſecutors to prolong his impriſonment to the utmoſt. By his cloſe and continued confinement he grew weaker and weaker, till as many others had done, he fell a ſacrifice to the vindictive temper of partial magiſtrates, and the forced conſtruction of unequal laws; for the hardſhip of his unmerited impriſonment, put a period to his exiſtence in the body the 23d of the 4th month, 1684.

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Dies by the hardſhips he ſuffered.

Equally remarkable were the repeated and ſevere ſufferings of Thomas Stordy, of Moorehouſe in Cumberland, who alſo laid down his life in this year in Carliſle jail, under a cruel perſecution for the teſtimony of a good conſcience. He was deſcended from a family of repute in that country, and born to the inheritance of a handſome eſtate; and had his religious ſentiments fallen in with the paſſion for conformity, now predominant, he might have bid fair for making ſome figure in his country, and holding a rank of eminence therein.

Life and ſufferings of Thomas Stordy.

But about the term of middle age he became ſeriouſly thoughtful about his better part, whereby he was circumſcribed in his views and deſires after the vanities and carnal gratifications, the pomp and the power of this world, and incited to the purſuit of pure religion, as the foundation of peace here, and everlaſting happineſs hereafter: With this view he joined in ſociety with the independents, amongſt whom he was in particular eſtimation for his talent in exhortations, expoſitions, and ſuch like religious exerciſes in uſe amongſt them. After ſome time he left them, and joined the people called Quakers,

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which in the circumſtances of the times was an indubitable proof of the ſincerity of his heart in his religious reſearches; when having it in his power to live in eaſe and affluence, by a temporizing conduct, what but a conſcientious perſuaſion of acting right could induce him to embrace a profeſſion hated, vilified, perſecuted and expoſed to the loſs of all that mankind reckons valuable? In this ſociety he ſpent the remainder of his life in near unity with his friends, and truly reſpectable in his neighbourhood as a man of a circumſpect, ſober and temperate demeanour amongſt them, upright in his dealings, obliging in his diſpoſition, hoſpitable in his houſe, and liberally charitable to the poor around him. But in this age, at once bigotted and licentious, virtues the moſt conſpicuous were inſufficient to ſecure the poſſeſſor from the iron hand of perſecution, from prieſts and prieſt-ridden magiſtrates, who would ſee no virtue beyond the pale of conformity, nor hardly vice within it, ſeeming to place the ſum of religion therein. Thomas Stordy was firſt impriſoned in the general impriſonment in 1660, for declining to take the oath of allegiance, and detained in priſon nine weeks. We have already ſeen his illegal impriſonment at Carliſle in 1662, and his condemnation in a premunire, under which he was detained a cloſe priſoner ten years from his wife and family, until he was releaſed by the king's aforeſaid declaration in 1672: His real eſtate was recovered through the interceſſion of Charles Howard earl of Carliſle; but his perſonal eſtate entirely loſt; and as if his impriſonment, and the loſs of his ſubſtance was not a ſufficient gratification of the enmity of the perſe-

Priſoner ten years at Carliſle.

cutors,

cutors, in the year 1670, whilſt lying under this confinement, now of eight years duration, a warrant was granted againſt his goods and chattles for a fine of 20l. 10s. upon the conventicle act, for a meeting at Moorhouſe. Thus was an honeſt reſpectable citizen harraſſed by proſecution upon proſecution, and penalty upon penalty, by the variety of penal laws now brought into force; though innocent of any crime againſt the ſtate: firſt arbitrarily impriſoned as ſeditious, although guiltleſs of any ſeditious practice; again ſtill more arbitrarily impriſoned without apparent cauſe; and to detain him there, occaſion was ſought againſt him to deprive him at once of his liberty and property, by a ſnare laid for the purpoſe, becauſe he durſt not violate the command of Chriſt, as he underſtood it; fined for a meeting when he was under reſtraint ſeveral miles from it, and laſt of all proſecuted by one Launcelot Simpſon *, a proctor, on

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* The character of this Launcelot Simpſon may be gathered from a more particular account we have of his treatment of Richard Banks. This man, one of the ſame ſociety, being a farmer, rented ſome land, which Simpſon purchaſed: who, not content with the rent of his purchaſe, ſeemed to adopt a plan for poſſeſſing himſelf of the beſt part of the tenant's property, and impoveriſhing him at once. He proſecuted him in the eccleſiaſtical court to excommunication, and under pretence that all he had was too little to defray the expence of the proſecution, he came one day in the owner's abſence with an aſſiſtant, and nailed up his granary and barn door, turning out all his thraſhers: He came again in the night when the family was in bed, and took poſſeſſion of his ſtable and cow-houſe and turned out his cattle, and the ſnow lying thick on the ground, ſome of the young calves pe-

[a] Beſſe, v. i. page 130.

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on the revived obſolete ſtatute of 23 Eliz. for 20l. a month for abſence from the public worſhip, caſt into priſon and detained there ſeveral years, until his death, which happened the 22d of December, 1684. As he ſought for ſolid peace of mind through many tribulations, he was favoured therewith at his concluſion, for not long before his deceaſe, being viſited by ſome of his friends, he encouraged them to faithfulneſs by this teſtimony to the advantage thereof, "if "you continue faithful to the Lord whilſt ye "live in this world, he will reward you, as he

riſhed with the cold, and others were with difficulty recovered: He cauſed the hedge to be torn away from the hay ſtack, and put his own cattle to eat it. The poor man had about nine ſcore ſheep, to theſe Simpſon pretended a title and by thoſe means deterred others from purchaſing any of them; ſo that after conteſting his claim, and the death of near a third part, the owner was obliged to let Simpſon take them at his own price, which was about one third of the value. Richard Banks, perceiving he was like to obtain neither quiet nor property, while expoſed to the chicanery and oppreſſion of this man, took another farm twenty miles diſtant. Even thither Simpſon purſued him, and ſhortly after had him arreſted on a writ of excommunication; but this upon examination proving out of date, his purpoſe was prevented at that time. He afterwards cauſed both the ſaid Richard and his wife to be apprehended together, and taken away from their children and ſervants, by ſuch rude unfeeling perſons as are generally employed in ſuch offices, who would not give them time to leave the neceſſary directions behind them, nor ſcarce ſpeak to their workmen, having at that time ten men at work. On their way to priſon they met Simpſon, of whom Richard demanded before witneſſes, "If he owed him any thing:" But the other could not make any demand appear, only reckoning his impriſonment was for contempt of the law: Richard then deſiring the forbearance of only two days to put his affairs in ſome order, Simpſon replied, "He would not give him two hours."

"now

"now rewardeth me, with his ſweet peace." His teſtimony againſt tithes under the goſpel diſpenſation was proved to be truly conſcientious, for after he was convinced of the impropriety of the demand, he not only refuſed to pay them, but to receive them; for he inherited from his predeceſſors an impropriation of 10l. per annum, which he releaſed to the owners of the lands from whence they accrued (to whom he thought they belonged of right) by a legal inſtrument quitting claim thereto, for himſelf, his heirs and aſſigns for ever.

Thus the revived perſecution was carried on to the death of King Charles II. without relaxation, who about this time was taken off in a ſudden fit of convulſion or apoplexy, leaving little leſs than one thouſand five hundred of the people called Quakers in priſon on various proſecutions. Having now finiſhed the account of this perſecuting reign in England, before I proceed to the tranſactions of the ſucceeding reign it ſeems a proper period to take another review of the ſtate of this ſociety in other parts of the world, and firſt in Ireland.

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CHAP. XVI.

IRELAND.

Account of William Morris.—Benjamin Bangs viſits Ireland.—At Antrim rudely treated, but has afterwards a ſolid Meeting.—His Prediction.—He meets with a Company of Men, whoſe Teacher is fled.—Which affords him Occaſion to recommend them a Teacher in their own Hearts.—William Edmundſon and Robert Jackſon proſecuted for Tithe.—William Edmundſon's Conference with the Biſhop.—Procures their Liberty.—Diſſenters ordered to diſcontinue their Meetings.—Friends continue to meet as uſual.—John Burnyeat committed to Priſon.

CHAP. XVI.

1680. Account of W. Morris.

THIS year died [b] William Morris, of Caſtle-Salem in the county of Cork, who at the time William Edmundſon was put in the ſtocks at Belturbet was an elder of repute amongſt the baptiſts, and a man in authority, being a captain in the army, a juſtice of peace, and commiſſioner of the revenue; and upon the occaſion remonſtrated againſt the magiſtracy there, in favour of William and his brethren, telling theſe perſecuting independents, *the time would come when they would be glad to ſhelter under their* [*the Quakers*]

[b] Rutty.

Quakers] *wings:* Although he was a man of great abilities, he had been convinced by a weak inſtrument, and it being now known that he had joined this people, his commiſſions were taken from him. But being a perſon of conſiderable conſequence, both from his ſtation in the world, and his abilities as a man, he was a ſerviceable member of this ſociety, particularly in applications to the government on behalf of his ſuffering friends, with whom he alſo ſhared in ſuffering. He wrote an excellent little tract, intitled Tithes no Goſpel Ordinance."

CHAP. XVI. 1682.

Benjamin Bangs, from Cheſhire, landed in Dublin, and travelled through ſeveral parts of this nation, exerciſing his miniſtry to the edification of his brethren, and their number was increaſed by the convincement of many, who before had not profeſſed with them.

Benjamin Bangs viſits Ireland.

In the courſe of his travels he came to Antrim, the inhabitants of which town were moſtly of the preſbyterian profeſſion, ſundry emigrants from Scotland having at different times removed to ſettle in theſe parts. He had a meeting here in the evening, which was greatly crowded by theſe high profeſſors, ſome of whom are ſaid to have come with a deſign to oppoſe him. The meeting-houſe being too ſmall to contain the number reſorting thereto, the people without grew very tumultuous and noiſy, and at length while Benjamin was preaching, began to throw pieces of dirt and turf; upon obſerving ſuch rudeneſs, he made a full ſtop, which occaſioned a general ſilence, and after a ſhort pauſe he made this remark, "I underſtand this is a "place of great profeſſion of religion. I am "ſorry to ſee ſo much irreligion as appears a-

At Antrim meets with ſome rude treatment, but the rudeneſs being repreſſed he has a ſolid meeting.

"mongſt

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"mongſt you at this time, through your rude "behaviour. It is not long ſince I came out of "my native country, and I think it will not be "long ere I return again, and then what ſhall I "ſay of you to your poor ſuffering brethren "in England?" This remonſtrance, expreſſed in great awfulneſs, affected the more conſiderate part of the audience with a ſenſe of the ſcandal, which ſuch abuſive behaviour brought on their profeſſion of religion, and therefore exerting themſelves to quell the diſorder, and putting a ſtop thereto, the meeting afterwards was held in great ſolemnity, whereby many preſent were reached to the heart, and a young man of the popiſh perſuaſion convinced, as were many others in this part of the nation.

His prediction.

Benjamin, to the aforeſaid remonſtrance, was concerned to add this prediction, *the time draws nigh that ye will be blown away like chaff before the ſummer thraſhing floor, and the place of your meetings ſhall not be found;* which before he left the nation he found to be brought to paſs: After attending the half-year's meeting in Dublin, and travelling ſouthward to Cork, and from thence to Tralee in the county of Kerry, a place where none of the people called Quakers reſided, and where they were little known; amongſt theſe ſtrangers, to whom, from a particular impulſe on his mind, he paid this religious viſit, he had a comfortable meeting, under the ſenſe of divine aſſiſtance attending him in his ſervice, and affecting the minds of the people with religious conſideration, with ſolid impreſſions whereof they withdrew from the meeting; and he returned again to the North, where on the way from Antrim to Grange he obſerved ten

or

or twelve men walking along in a very *ſolitary* manner, and it aroſe in his heart, *Theſe are ſheep having no ſhepherd:* When he came up to them, he entered into diſcourſe with them, and enquiring of them, if they were going to a meeting. They anſwered, *our miniſter is ſilenced*, for orders are come down, prohibiting all diſſenters from aſſembling, *ſo now we have no teacher*, which appeared to him in effect to verify his prediction, *that their meeting could not be found.* For the inimical diſpoſition entertained at this time by the ruling party in England againſt diſſenters, having ſpread to Ireland, exerted itſelf in ſimilar meaſures of perſecution to ſuppreſs their meetings, which produced the effect deſigned here as well as there, with the ſeveral other claſſes of diſſenters: The people generally, except the Quakers, declined their public meetings, and their teachers abſconded, to eſcape perſecution.

1682. Meets with a company of men, who inform him their teacher is ſilenced.

Benjamin Bangs from the previous diſcourſe, took occaſion to bring them off from a dependance upon hireling teachers, as "the hireling "fleeth becauſe he is a hireling and careth not "for the flock," (John x. 11, 12, 13.) and to turn them to the teacher that cannot *be removed into a corner*, "the inward principle of the "grace of God, that bringeth ſalvation, and "hath appeared unto all men, teaching them "what to deny, and how to live, Titus, ii. "11. 12. The manifeſtation of the ſpirit given "to every one to profit withal, 1 Cor. xii. 7." adviſing them to turn their minds inward, and mind the ſecret operations of it, whereby they would find by a lively experience, that it checks for bad words and bad actions; and as they minded its teachings, they would find it would lead

Which adminiſters an occaſion to refer them to the teacher in their own hearts.

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lead them into all truth. The men were well pleaſed, and affected with his diſcourſe, declaring at parting, they had never heard things ſo opened to them in their lives.

Here we have a remarkable inſtance of the ſpirit of univerſal charity and benevolence, of the zeal and diligence, which actuated theſe ancient laborious miniſters among the people called Quakers of this age, to watch every opportunity to anſwer the end of their calling, to promote truth, and explain to mankind the way of life and ſalvation, without fee or reward from man. Benjamin Bangs having travelled upwards of one thouſand ſeven hundred miles, held one hundred and eighty meetings, excluſive of Dublin, and ſpent near twelve months in laborious and profitable ſervice amongſt his friends and others, returned home.

William Edmundſon and Robert Jackſon having been proſecuted in the biſhop's court to excommunication for non-payment of tithes, were taken upon a writ, committed to priſon, and detained priſoners about twenty weeks, when the Earl of Ely (their landlord) intereſting himſelf to procure their liberty, the biſhop ordered them to appear perſonally in his court at Kildare, where they appeared accordingly before the biſhop, in company with ſeveral prieſts, the aforeſaid earl, and ſundry other perſons of note. The biſhop deſired to know William Edmundſon's reaſons why he did not pay tithes; but William was not forward to enter upon the ſubject, being diffident of his capacity to manage it, ſo as not to hurt a good cauſe through a weak defence. Notwithſtanding, as the biſhop was urgent, a conference commenced, which held

William Edmundſon and Robert Jackſon proſecuted for tithes.

William Edmundſon hath a conference with the biſhop.

held for three hours, wherein William was enabled, with wiſdom and underſtanding, as he thought, ſuperior to his own, and a ready recollection of arguments from ſcripture, to prove tithes *aboliſhed, and that it was antichriſtian to pay or receive them in the goſpel diſpenſation*, to the full ſatisfaction of the audience: So that their ſuffering and this conference thereupon had a good effect, and ſome other religious ſubjects were handled, which afforded William Edmundſon an opportunity to explain the principles of himſelf and friends, in relation to a goſpel miniſtry, faith, and the true worſhip of God. The biſhop, who appears to have been a man of moderation, ſoon after cauſed them to be releaſed, and afterwards both himſelf and the officers of his court behaved with kindneſs towards the members of the ſociety.

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which procures their liberty.

About the middle of this ſummer a freſh order was iſſued by government to the ſeveral ſects of diſſenters in Dublin, to forbear meeting publicly in their worſhip houſes as formerly: And the archbiſhop of Dublin ſending for Anthony Sharp, informed him, that it was the deſire of government that his friends alſo ſhould forbear their public aſſemblies, but friends returned anſwer, that they believed it was their indiſpenſable duty to meet together to worſhip God, from whom they received all their mercies, and not to neglect this reaſonable ſervice for fear of human penalties; the end of their aſſemblies being purely for divine worſhip, and for no other purpoſe. In conſequence of theſe orders, other diſſenters generally deſerted their meetings; but the people called Quakers, under perſuaſion of duty, aſſembled together as formerly

1683.

Diſſenters ordered to diſcontinue their meetings.

But friends continue to keep up their meetings.

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merly, and thereby became obnoxious to cenſure and puniſhment from the ſecular power, but in a degree very ſhort of the ſufferings of their brethren in England. Upon a firſt day the marſhal and ſeveral of the mayor's officers came to the meeting at Wormwood-gate, where finding John Burnyeat preaching, the marſhal commanded him to go along with him, which, after ſome diſcourſe, he did. He commanded the meeting to diſperſe, but the members kept their places quietly. John Burnyeat being taken before the mayor, was aſked, *why they acted contrary to the orders of government?* To which John replied, *we do nothing in contempt of government.* But, ſaid the mayor, *why do you not obey then?*

John. Becauſe it is matter of conſcience to us, and that which we believe to be our indiſpenſable duty, to meet together to worſhip God.

Mayor. You may be miſled.

John Burnyeat committed to priſon.

John. If we be miſled we are willing to be informed.

Then it being urged that other diſſenters had ſubmitted and why would not they? To which John Burnyeat returned anſwer, "What they do "will be no plea for us before the judgment ſeat "of God." After ſome further diſcourſe, the mayor committed him to priſon, to which, ſoon after, Anthony Sharp and Alexander Seaton were committed. After a month's impriſonment, application was made to the mayor for their releaſe, who refuſed; but in conſequence of an application to the Earl of Arran, lord deputy, it was obtained, after an impriſonment of about two months.

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CHAP. XVII.

WEST INDIES.

The Weſt Indian Iſlands the firſt Part of America viſited by the People called Quakers.—General Impriſonment there.—Greateſt Sufferings for refuſing to bear Arms.—Several Friends from England embark for Barbadoes.—George Fox convenes the Men's and Women's Meetings at his Lodgings, being weak at his Arrival.—Pays a Viſit to the Governor, and is kindly received, which occaſions a large Meeting at Bridgetown.—Ralph Fretwell, a Judge, being convinced, is turned out of his Office.—Thomas Briggs and William Edmundſon proceed to Antigua, thence to Nevis, where they are not ſuffered to land.—George Fox continues in Barbadoes, where he hath good Service.—The Prieſts endeavour to ſtir up Perſecution, and to render Friends ſuſpected, whereupon they publiſh a Confeſſion of their Faith.—Friends accuſed of a Deſign to ſtir up the Negroes to Rebellion.—Their Vindication.—George Fox and others paſs to Jamaica.—Elizabeth Hooton dies there.—Her Life.

IT hath been already remarked the two firſt of theſe people who went to New England arrived there in a ſhip from Barbadoes in 1656. Whence it appears this iſland of Barbadoes, and

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and the adjacent iſlands of Nevis and Antigua, were the firſt of the American Plantations which were viſited by any of the people called Quakers from England, whoſe labours in the work of the miniſtry ſeem to have been attended with ſucceſs, to the convincement of ſeveral of the inhabitants of the validity of the doctrines they publiſhed; but it is remarkable, that in every quarter of the world wherever theſe doctrines ſpread, although calculated to promote virtue, peace, and due ſubordination in religious and civil ſociety; perſecution ſtill followed.

1656. The Weſt-Indian iſlands firſt viſited by this people.

1658. In the iſland of Nevis, Humphrey Highwood, the firſt inhabitant who entertained the people called Quakers, having given a friendly reception to three of them, Peter Head, John Rouſe and Mary Fiſher; he was cited to appear before the governor, and charged with the breach of a law enjoining notice to be given to the governor of the arrival of all ſtrangers within a limited time, which the ſaid Humphrey, through inadvertency, had ſuffered to elapſe, for which undeſigned omiſſion he was committed to priſon.

Humphry Highwood committed to priſon.

He had not as yet embraced the principles of the ſaid people, but after ſome time being convinced thereof, he ſuffered impriſonment: Firſt, for declining his uſual appearance in arms and ſervice in the militia, and a ſecond time for appearing before the governor with his hat on, and was detained in priſon till the next court, at which, as there was no law extant making ſuch appearance criminal, he was ſet at liberty; but at that time they made a law, *That whoſoever for the future ſhould come into any court with his*

his hat on, ſhould pay a fine of five hundred pounds of ſugar, or ſuffer a month's impriſonment.

1658. 1660.

Upon the arrival at Barbadoes of the king's proclamation in conſequence of the inſurrection of the fifth monarchy-men, there ſeems to have been a very general impriſonment of the members of this ſociety in that iſland, for declining the oath of allegiance, which the magiſtrates here were zealous to inforce, in order to ingratiate themſelves with the government. General impriſonment.

They alſo ſuffered by frequent diſtreſſes for refuſing to contribute to the maintenance of the prieſts by law eſtabliſhed, and toward the charges of repairing the public worſhip houſes, which were enforced by penal laws, frequently executed with more than legal ſeverity.

But they were expoſed to the ſevereſt of ſufferings in perſon and property for refuſing to bear arms or work at the fortifications. The laws of the country requiring the perſonal ſervice of the inhabitants, their ſervants and horſes, and enacting ſevere penalties in caſe of default, therefore for their conſcientious teſtimony in theſe reſpects, they were not only liable to ſevere fines and exorbitant diſtraints, frequently to double the value of the eſtimated fine, but to frequent impriſonments and corporal puniſhment, at the arbitrary pleaſure of officers and military commanders. Greateſt ſufferings for refuſing to bear arms.

Feeling their ſufferings heavy and multiplied, they made repeated remonſtrances to the ſucceſſive governors and council for redreſs of their grievances and eaſe from their ſufferings; but here, as in England, inſtead of relief, heavier penal laws were often the reſult.

Soon

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1671. Several friends from England embark for America.

Soon after the yearly meeting in London in 1671, ſeveral friends took ſhipping from England in order to viſit the Weſt Indies, and other parts of the Britiſh dominions in America, and after a paſſage of near two months arrived ſafely in Barbadoes. In this voyage they were cloſely purſued by a Sallee man of war, and apparently in danger of being taken, but were providentially delivered; for when this ſhip was come up with them, it being by moon-light, a thick cloud intercepted the view; the moon ſet, and a freſh gale ariſing, carried them rapidly on their courſe, and they ſaw them no more [a].

The friends who went over at this time in company were George Fox, Thomas Briggs, William Edmundſon, John Rouſe, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaſter, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattiſon, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton and Elizabeth Miers, and John Burnyeat the year before. George Fox, through indiſpoſition, was ſo weak at his landing that he was not of ability for ſome time to go much abroad, but his fellow labourers and the companions of his voyage entered diligently upon the buſineſs, which had induced them to encounter the difficulties of a paſſage to theſe remote iſlands, viz. to promote true religion and righteouſneſs in places where they were too little conſidered or practiſed. Here their goſpel labours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that many of the inhabitants of this iſland were remarkably awakened from their ſpiritual lethargy.

[a] George Fox and William Edmundſon's journals.

thargy. The meetings crowded by people of all degrees, even ſome of the principal rank amongſt them, and many were convinced of the truth of the doctrines they publiſhed.

George Fox's concern pointing particularly to the promotion of that diſcipline and good order amongſt his friends in this iſland, which he had been employed in eſtabliſhing in other parts, and not being able yet to travel, the men and women aſſembled in their reſpective meetings for the affairs of the ſociety at his lodging at Thomas Rous's, which furniſhed him with the opportunity of being preſent, where he found his aſſiſtance and directions much wanted, ſundry diſorders having crept in for want of vigilance and care. Beſides the ſubjects of diſcipline uſual in other places, he recommended to their eſpecial care the caſe of their negro ſlaves, adviſing to inſtruct them in Chriſtianity, and endeavour to inſtil into them the fear of their creator, as well thoſe they might purchaſe as thoſe who were born in their families; alſo that they ſhould cauſe their overſeers to treat them with humanity and gentleneſs, and not to follow the cuſtom too prevalent of uſing them with cruelty; and that after certain years of ſervitude they ſhould ſet them free. This advice being well accepted and obſerved by the members of this ſociety, cauſed a general alarm to the inhabitants; gave a handle to their adverſaries to miſrepreſent their good intentions, and ſome time after occaſioned them trouble and damage.

G. Fox convenes the men's and women's meetings at his lodgings.

After George Fox was able to go abroad, he, in company with his hoſt Thomas Rous, paid a viſit to the governor, who received them

G. Fox pays a viſit to the governor,

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with remarkable kindneſs; and a few days after, a general meeting being held at Bridgetown, the rumour of this viſit to the governor, and the kind reception he met with, drew many of the officers, both civil and military, and others not of the loweſt ranks, from moſt parts of the iſland to the meeting. Lewis Morris, who had been a colonel and a member of the council, having been before convinced, brought in company with him Ralph Fretwell, a judge in the iſland. The meeting, which was very large, was conducted to the great ſatisfaction of the general part of the audience, and Ralph Fretwell aforeſaid, through the powerful and effectual miniſtry of George Fox, was thoroughly convinced; and not diſcouraged by the general contempt which this people lay under, openly profeſſed himſelf of the ſociety of the people called Quakers. He was one of the chief judges of the court of Common Pleas in this iſland, had been regularly ſworn into office, and executed it with integrity and honour; but after this his profeſſion, his adverſaries inſiſted upon his being ſworn again, on purpoſe that they might take advantage of his religious ſcruple, and procured it to be put to the vote in council. Many of the council diſapproved of the motion, and upon putting the queſtion, they were equally divided, but the governor having the caſting vote gave it againſt him, being actuated more by the narrowneſs of party ſpirit, prevalent in this age, than a regard to juſtice or the public good.

which cauſes a large meeting at Bridgetown.

Ralph Fretwell being convinced,

is turned out of his place of judge.

After this meeting Thomas Briggs and William Edmundſon took leave of George Fox, and proceeded to the iſlands of Antigua and Nevis.

Thomas Briggs and W. Edmundſon proceed to Antigua,

Nevis. In the former they had large meetings, attended by many of the principal inhabitants, as well as numbers of other ranks. Many were convinced by their miniſtry, and amongſt the reſt Colonel Winthrop, who had been governor, at whoſe houſe they had afterwards ſeveral large and ſatisfactory meetings. CHAP. XVII. 1671.

[b] When they had finiſhed their ſervice in Antigua they ſet ſail for Nevis, where ſoon after they came to anchor. A marſhal was ſent aboard by the governor, a man of a perſecuting ſpirit, with orders, *that none ſhould come aſhore until he knew whence the veſſel came, and who were in it*; in conſequence whereof they were detained on board; and the governor receiving intelligence who the paſſengers in the veſſel were, immediately ſent an officer and a guard of ſoldiers, with ſtrict command to ſuffer none of them to go on ſhore, nor any of the iſlanders to go on board to ſee or converſe with them, upon the penalty of a large fine; but the officer and ſoldiers being of a better temper, carried themſelves kindly to them, and ſuffered ſeveral of their friends to come to viſit them, and by conſent of the owner of the veſſel, Colonel Winthrop, they held a meeting on board, to their mutual edification. thence to Nevis, where they are not ſuffered to land.

The governor ſent for the maſter of the ſhip, who was no Quaker, and obliged him to enter into a bond of 1000l. ſterling to carry them back to Antigua; but in the mean time, while they lay there, Colonel Stapleton, governor of Montſerrat, paid them a viſit, to whom William Edmundſon complained of the inhoſ-

[b] William Edmundſon's journal. Beſſe.

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pitable treatment of this governor of Nevis: "That it was very hard uſage, that they, being "Engliſhmen, and coming ſo far as they had "done to viſit their countrymen, ſhould be "prohibited from coming on ſhore to refreſh "themſelves within King Charles's dominions, "after ſuch a long voyage." Colonel Stapleton replied, "It is true; but we hear that ſince "your coming into the Carribee iſlands ſeven "hundred of our militia are turned Quakers, "and Quakers will not fight, and we have "need of men to fight, being ſurrounded by "enemies, and that is the reaſon why gover-"nor Wheeler will not ſuffer you to come on "ſhore." Accordingly, by the governor's orders, they were carried back to Antigua, where they were received with gladneſs by their friends, met with no moleſtation from the government, their meetings were reſorted to by many of all ranks, and their teſtimony well received by them.

G. Fox continues in Barbadoes and hath good ſervice.

[d] George Fox continued ſtill exerciſed in his miniſterial gift in Barbadoes, where he had many large and ſatisfactory meetings, both for worſhip and diſcipline, free from any interruption from the government, the former of which many of other ſocieties attended. At one of them Colonel Lyne, a ſober man, was ſo well ſatisfied with George Fox's teſtimony, that he expreſſed his ſatisfaction in theſe terms: "Now "I can gainſay ſuch as I have heard ſpeak evil "of you, who ſay you do not own Chriſt, "nor that he died; whereas I perceive you

[d] George Fox's journal.

"exalt

" exalt Chriſt in all his offices, beyond what I " have ever heard before."

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But as his labour in the Goſpel was effectual to the convincement of ſeveral in moſt parts of the iſland, the prieſts and their partizans being much diſturbed and alarmed, had recourſe to their cuſtomary means of redreſs, in endeavours to inſtigate the magiſtrates to ſeverity againſt him and his fellow-labourers; but finding themſelves fruſtrated in theſe endeavours, they next exerted themſelves to render them odious or ſuſpected, by ſtrenuouſly diſperſing amongſt the people the vulgar calumnies of the time, which had been repeatedly objected to them, and as often refuted by them, " That they denied " God, Chriſt Jeſus, the Holy Scriptures, &c." whereupon they thought it requiſite to draw up and publiſh a confeſſion of their faith, wherein they aſſert their belief in one only wiſe, omnipotent and eternal God, the creator of all things in heaven and earth, and the preſerver of all that he hath made, who is God over all, bleſſed for ever. That they own and believe in Jeſus Chriſt, his only begotten ſon, who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin Mary, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveneſs of ſins. That he was crucified for us in the fleſh, without the gates of Jeruſalem; was buried, and roſe again the third day by the power of his father for our juſtification: That he aſcended up into heaven, and now ſitteth on the right hand of God.

The prieſts endeavour to ſtir up perſecution, and render friends ſuſpected, whereupon they publiſh a confeſſion of their faith.

Concerning the holy ſcriptures, they believe they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God,

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God, through the holy men of God, who [e] "ſpoke as they were moved by the Holy "Ghoſt;" that they are to be read and believed, and are [f] "profitable for reproof, for "correction, and for inſtruction in righteouſ-"neſs, that the man of God may be perfect, "thoroughly furniſhed unto all good works." George Fox's Journal, folio, page 435, 436, much more at large.

But the malignity of his accuſers did not ſtop here, the univerſality of the benevolence of theſe faithful miniſters, and diſpoſition to be ſerviceable in the cauſe of righteouſneſs to every claſs of mankind, furniſhed their adverſaries with occaſion to invent another calumny, which applied home to the paſſions of the people, as affecting them in a tender part, their ſecular intereſts and ſafety; perſecution ſtill endeavouring to pervert religious diſſent into a crime againſt the ſtate. We have ſeen the care and concern that George Fox had upon him reſpecting the negro ſlaves in the families of friends. The principle of univerſal charity incited him and his fellow-labourers, both to promote a religious care over them from their maſters of the ſociety, as a part of their reſpective families, and alſo to hold meetings among them in different plantations, wherein they exhorted them to juſtice, ſobriety, temperance, chaſtity, piety, and to due ſubjection to their maſters and governors. From theſe charitable endeavours to inſtil religious ſentiments into this poor neglected and oppreſſed part of the ſpecies, their opponents took occaſion to add

Friends accuſed of a deſign to ſtir up the Negroes to rebellion.

[e] II Peter i. 21. [f] II Tim. iii. 19.

this

this to the before recited calumnies, "*That they* CHAP.
"*taught the Negroes to rebel.*" XVII.

In their vindication againſt this charge they appeal to the Searcher of all Hearts, that this was an abominable untruth, their principles and practice being utterly abhorrent of ſuch an intention: That their addreſſes to theſe poor people had been directed to exhort them to be ſober, to fear God, to love their maſters and miſtreſſes, to be faithful and diligent in their ſervice and buſineſs; that they cautioned them againſt a plurality of wives, againſt theft, drunkenneſs, adultery, fornication, curſing, ſwearing, lying, and ſuch vices as people of their ſtation are too prone to; referring them to ſomething within them, that tells them, they ſhould not practiſe theſe, nor other evils. That if notwithſtanding they ſhould commit them, they informed them, that there were but two ways, one which leads to Heaven, whither the righteous go into inconceivable happineſs; and the other that leads to Hell, whither the wicked and debauched, whoremongers, adulterers, murderers and lyars, go into everlaſting miſery. They wiſh it to be conſidered, that it is no tranſgreſſion for a maſter of a family to inſtruct his family himſelf, or for others to do it for him, but an important and incumbent duty upon them to pray with and for their families, to adviſe, inſtruct and admoniſh every member thereof for their good; this being a command of the Lord; diſobedience thereunto will provoke his diſpleaſure. 1671. Againſt which charge they vindicate themſelves.

This apology, weighty in itſelf, it is preſumed had ſome weight with thoſe to whom it was addreſſed; as notwithſtanding theſe invidious miſrepreſentations by the prieſts and their adherents,

no

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no ſevere meaſures on this account ſeem to have been adopted 'till ſome years after. George Fox having ſpent three months in his goſpel labours in this iſland, viſiting and confirming his friends, whoſe number was now encreaſed by the convincement of others, and having ſettled the meetings to his ſatisfaction, apprehending himſelf clear of his ſervice there, prepared for his departure; having firſt communicated his proſpects to his friends, he thought it expedient to acquaint the governor and divers of the council with his intention, that, as his entrance into the iſland had been open and publick, his departure might be ſo too.

G. Fox paſſeth to Jamaica.

From Barbadoes he paſſed over to Jamaica, in company with Robert Widders, William Edmundſon, Solomon Eccles and Elizabeth Hooton, where they met with a kind reception, being treated with civility both by the governor, magiſtrates, and the people in general. Their meetings here were large and very quiet, their miniſterial labour conducive to the convincement of many, and amongſt them ſome people of account in the world.

About a week after their arrival, Elizabeth Hooton, being far advanced in years, departed this life.

Account of Elizabeth Hooton.

She was a woman religiouſly inclined in an early ſtage of life, and one of the firſt who joined in religious fellowſhip with George Fox, before the name of *Quaker* was applied to him and his friends. In his early journeys to ſeek out, and converſe with, ſober and well-minded people, before he appeared as a publick preacher, in the year 1647 he came into Nottinghamſhire, where he met with a number of ſuch as he deſired

desired to visit, and had some serious conferences with them upon religious subjects; amongst them was Elizabeth Hooton, who was then convinced by his doctrine, of the sufficiency of the light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; and by an inward attention to this monitor in her own breast (by Divine aid) she experienced the work of conversion and sanctification begun and advanced in her heart, whereby she was prepared for the reception of spiritual gifts. In the year 1650 she received a gift in the ministry, being reputed to be the first minister of her sex in this society [a], but not the first in the Christian church: For beside those in the primitive age of christianity, mentioned by the apostle Paul as his fellow helpers and labourers in the Lord, according to William Sewel, there are more modern accounts, "that "among other persuasions in London there were "also women who did preach, and were heard "with great satisfaction." As Elizabeth Hooton was one of the earliest believers in, and one of the earliest preachers up of, the light of Christ in man, while those about this time denominated Quakers were but few, and not, properly speaking, an embodied society, it was not unusual for their preachers, at this time, to attend the publick places of worship, and generally, at the close, to seek an opportunity to publish their doctrine there, not having yet established meetings of their own in many places, a custom not peculiar to them, as hath been already shewn; * yet for this many of them met with much abuse,

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[a] W. Sewel.

* See vol. I. p. 86.

and

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and amongſt the reſt Elizabeth Hooton. She travelled into many parts of the nation to call people to repentance, and to take heed to the convictions of the Divine Light and Grace of God in their own hearts, for which ſhe was one of the earlieſt ſufferers among the members of this riſing ſociety. [b] As early as 1651 ſhe was impriſoned in Darby upon the complaint of a prieſt, to whom ſhe had ſpoken by way of reproof, who in reſentment applied to a juſtice and procured her impriſonment. In the next year, 1652, ſhe was again impriſoned at York for delivering an exhortation to the congregation at Rotheram, at the cloſe of their publick worſhip. In 1654 ſhe was on the like account impriſoned five months in Lincoln, and in 1665 twelve weeks in the ſame place. In 1660, paſſing quietly along the road, ſhe was met by one Jackſon, prieſt of Selſton in Nottinghamſhire, who abuſed her, ſtruck her repeatedly, knocked her down, and afterward put her into the water; thus manifeſting his malice in the abuſive treatment of an inoffenſive female, in a manner diſgraceful to his character as a teacher, a chriſtian, and a man. The barbarous uſage ſhe received in New England hath been already related. In all her afflictions, through Divine ſupport, ſhe appears to have been preſerved in patience, and in a meek and quiet ſpirit; but ſteadfaſt and immoveable in the truth, in which ſhe moſt ſurely believed. And at laſt, in an advanced age, finiſhed her life in peace in a foreign land.

[b] Beſſe.

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William Edmundſon viſits theſe Iſlands a ſecond Time.—At Bridgetown a Prieſt diſturbs the Meeting and challenges William Edmundſon to a Diſpute.—In which being foiled the Prieſt complains to the Governor.—William Edmundſon waits upon the Governor, and by his Diſcourſe brings him to moderation.—William Edmundſon appears before the Council, where the Prieſt failing in proof of his Charges meets with merited Reproof.—William Edmundſon writes an Epiſtle to the Governor, &c. againſt the prevailing Vices of the Iſland—And their Treatment of the Negro Slaves.—Act paſſed to prevent the People called Quakers from bringing Negroes to their Meetings, and againſt their Schoolmaſters and Preachers.—Reflections on this Act, and on the Slave Trade.

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1675. William Edmundſon viſits theſe iſlands a ſecond time.

IN the year 1675, William Edmundſon aforeſaid went a ſecond time from Ireland to Barbadoes, under a renewed religious concern to viſit the meetings of his friends in that iſland, and in other parts of the American plantations, where he was gladly received by them, and had many favourable opportunities in the exerciſe of his miniſtry amongſt others, the meetings through moſt parts of the iſland being very large, many were convinced of the truth, and the hearts of friends enlarged in love to receive his teſtimony and

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and inſtructions both in doctrine and diſcipline.

1675. He had a meeting at the houſe of Tobias Fryer, a man of great ſubſtance, repute and authority, in commiſſion of the peace, whoſe wife was one of the ſociety of Quakers, ſo called; the meeting was crowded, and amongſt the reſt the prieſt of the pariſh, whoſe name was Ramſey, attended at it. After meeting many of the auditors expreſſed their ſatisfaction, only the prieſt ſeemed diſturbed, yet made no publick oppoſition there; but afterwards at a meeting at Bridgetown, to which he came attended by a company of rude people in order to make a diſturbance, he reviled friends with abuſive language, calling them *hereticks*, *blaſphemers* and *traitors*, and challenged William Edmundſon to a publick diſputation, in which he threatened to prove the charge. This challenge being accepted, the rumour thereof drew together abundance of people of all ranks, by computation 3000 or upwards; the aſſembly was accommodated under ſhades without doors: But the prieſt, inſtead of making good his former charges, broke out in railing accuſations, ſometimes againſt particular friends, ſometimes againſt the ſociety in general, advancing many invidious charges, but proving none, whereby he diſguſted the judicious part of the auditory, manifeſted his own folly, and furniſhed William Edmundſon and his friends (who kept cool in their minds) with an opportunity of explaining their principles to the general information and ſatisfaction of the large number of people aſſembled upon the occaſion.

At Bridgetown a prieſt diſturbs the meeting and challenges W. Edmundſon to a publick diſpute.

Diſappointed

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Diſappointed of his aim, but perſevering in his enmity, this prieſt next applied to the governor, Sir Jonathan Atkins, with a complaint againſt William Edmundſon, that he was a Jeſuit from Ireland under the appearance of a Quaker, and pretending to make the Negroes Chriſtians, *would make them rebels, and riſe and cut their throats.* The governor, upon this falſe information, was determined to iſſue his warrant to apprehend William Edmundſon, who, coming to the knowledge thereof, anticipated the execution by a voluntary viſit to the governor.

The prieſt being foiled applies to the governor with a complaint againſt W. Edmundſon.

The governor, when he found who his viſitant was, fell into a paſſion, menaced him greatly, that he would take a courſe with him, and ſent his man for the marſhal; but before the marſhal came they entered into a converſation, in the courſe of which the governor acquainted William Edmundſon with the information he had received, that under pretence of making the Negroes Chriſtians, he was teaching them to rebel and cut their throats. To which William replied, that it was a good work to bring them to the knowledge of God and Chriſt Jeſus, and to believe in him that died for them and for all men, which would keep them from rebelling or cutting any man's throat; but if they ſhould rebel and cut their throats, as was ſaid, it would not be in conſequence of his doctrine, but of their treatment, keeping them in ignorance and under oppreſſion, giving them liberty to be common with women, like brutes; and on the other hand, ſtarving them for want of food and raiment convenient for them: Thus allowing them liberty in that which God reſtrained, and reſtraining them in that which God allowed and afforded

W. Edmundſon viſits the governor, and in a converſation moderates him.

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afforded to men, meat and clothes. After ſome time the governor grew very moderate.

W. Edmundſon appears before the council,

The marſhal coming, deſired to know his pleaſure. The governor told him he had thought to have committed William Edmundſon to priſon, but his mind was altered; ſo ordering him to appear before the council next day, he diſmiſſed him for that time. Next day he appeared before the council, and his accuſer, Ramſey, appeared alſo, and renewed his accuſations againſt William Edmundſon and his friends, of *hereſy*, *blaſphemy* and *treaſon*, alledging that he would prove his charge out of Edward Burrough's book. The book was brought, the prieſt toiled and turned it over and over again, but could find nothing there to anſwer his purpoſe; whereupon he met with merited rebuke from the governor, and general diſpleaſure from the council, for advancing ſuch groſs charges againſt a body of people without foundation. The prieſt, as abject as he was envious, fell on his knees to aſk their forgiveneſs, and from that time the governor behaved with kindneſs during William's ſtay there.

where the prieſt failing in proof of his charges meets with merited reproof.

William Edmundſon ſpent five months in his religious labours in this iſland, in which, being a man of fortitude, by conſcious integrity raiſed above the fear of man, and actuated by an honeſt zeal for promoting the cauſe of pure religion and diſcouraging vice, he was a faithful reprover of the immoralities and vicious practices abounding among the inhabitants, and concluded his labours amongſt them by an epiſtle addreſſed to the governor, council, and all others in authority in the iſland of Barbadoes, in which, after a recital of the various vices and immoralities

Writes an epiſtle to the governor, &c. againſt the prevailing vices of the iſland,

immoralities which blemiſhed the iſland, as ſwearing, drunkenneſs, pride, oppreſſion and uncleanneſs; and pointing out from ſcripture that general depravity frequently draws down the ſymptoms of Divine diſpleaſure in inflicting ſignal calamities upon guilty places and nations, as upon the old world, Gen. vi. 2, *for taking wives of all that they choſe*; and upon Sodom for the pollution and unreſtrained luſt of its inhabitants: He cloſely preſſes them to uſe the power in their hands to put a ſtop to the current of wickedneſs and uncleanneſs which had over-run the iſland and cried for vengeance; in particular, the promiſcuous commerce of the ſexes among the Negroes, connived at or rather encouraged from motives of intereſt, appears to him a ſin of complicated enormity, ſhocking to every ſentiment of chaſtity and decency, diſgraceful to humanity, and a violation of every law, moral and divine.

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and their treatment of their Negro ſlaves.

He therefore ſtrenuouſly urges them to exert their authority for reſtraining and ſuppreſſing this licentiouſneſs and offenſive liberty among their negro ſlaves, and not only to break the bonds of iniquity, but to remove the yoke of oppreſſion from off their necks; to moderate their labour, treat them with humanity, and allow them a comfortable ſufficiency of food and raiment. That as the beneficent creator of the world hath filled the earth with plenty, and provided a ſufficiency for food and raiment for all the inhabitants thereof, for a part of the human race to be deprived of neceſſaries, which they fully earn by their labour, in order that their ſuperiors may more freely riot in all the ſuperfluities of luxury, can never be vindicated or anſwered

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anſwered for to the Lord, to whom the earth belongs, and the fulneſs thereof.

He concludes his ſaid epiſtle in theſe plain and honeſt terms: "You have power, if you "make the right uſe of it, to rectify theſe "abuſes, if the inclination of your hearts be "to the Lord; or otherwiſe he will find a way "to purge the land of her wickedneſs and her "filthy abominations; and in that day remem-"ber you are warned by one, that wiſhes well "to the iſland, and ſtability to her govern-"ment.

"W. EDMUNDSON."

"21, 12mo, 1675."

Although the rulers to whom this epiſtle was addreſſed, convicted, doubtleſs, in their conſciences that the ſtate of their iſland gave juſt occaſion for the cloſe and poignant reprehenſions contained therein, appear not to have expreſſed any immediate reſentment againſt the author, who ſoon after took his departure for New England unmoleſted; yet in a ſhort time after that, inſtead of uſing their authority to ſuppreſs the vices remonſtrated againſt, liſtening more to the calumnies and ſuggeſtions of the adverſaries, and to the dictates of their own ſelf-intereſt, prompting them to encreaſe the number of their ſlaves even by wicked means, they reſolved to keep ſuch troubleſome monitors at a diſtance, to prevent the preaching up of doctrines they diſliked, and to render themſelves ſecure in the continued practice of immoralities, they knew to be indefenſible; for theſe purpoſes, about two months after the date of the aforeſaid letter, they

W. Edmundſon departs for New England.

they paſſed an act to prevent the people called Quakers from bringing negroes to their meetings, &c.

1675. Act paſſed to prevent the people called Quakers from bringing negroes to their meetings.

The preamble recites, "that many negroes "have been ſuffered to remain in the meetings "of the Quakers, as hearers of their doctrine, "and taught in their principles, whereby the "ſafety of this iſland may be much hazarded." They therefore enact, that if after the publication of the act "any negro or negroes ſhall be "found with the ſaid Quakers at any of their "ſaid meetings, and as hearers of their preaching, ſuch negro or negroes ſhall be forfeited, "one half to the party who ſhall ſeize and ſue "for them, and the other moiety to the public "uſe of the iſland. And if any ſuch negro or "negroes do not belong to any of the perſons "preſent at the ſame meeting, any perſon may "bring an action, grounded upon this ſtatute, "againſt any perſon preſent, at the election of "the informer, for the ſum of 10l. ſterling for "every ſuch negro. That no perſon ſhall keep "a ſchool, unleſs in one month after publication "ſuch perſon ſhall take the oath of allegiance "and ſupremacy before ſome juſtice of peace, "or obtain a ſpecial licenſe from the governor "for the time being, under the penalty of three "months impriſonment, and a forfeiture of "three thouſand pounds of Muſcovado ſugar. "That no perſon or perſons whatſoever, that is "not an inhabitant and reſident in this iſland, "and hath been ſo for twelve months together, "ſhall hereafter publicly diſcourſe or preach at "the meetings of the Quakers, upon the penalty "of ſix months impriſonment, and ſhall forfeit "ten thouſand pounds of Muſcovado ſugar, to

Penalty upon ſchoolmaſters, &c.

Alſo upon preachers.

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"be recovered and divided in manner afore-"said."

By this act ſeveral of the ſaid people were great ſufferers; but the attempt made on Ralph Fretwell aforeſaid, and Richard Sutton, exceeded all reaſonable bounds, the former being informed againſt and proſecuted by one Thomas Cobham for the ſum of 800l. for eighty negroes, and the latter for thirty negroes being preſent at a meeting; but the defendants in this cauſe made their defence ſo well, that notwithſtanding the act, the jury weighing all the circumſtances of the matter, acquitted them, to the diſappointment of their enemies.

The penalty extended to inhabitants.

Three years afterward, in the year 1678, this act was extended to include the inhabitants of the iſland, under the penalty before enacted, for preaching at any of the meetings of the people called Quakers, whereby all preaching in the public aſſemblies of the ſaid people was prohibited under the ſevere penalties of fines and impriſonment.

Now it will be no difficult matter for unprejudiced reaſon to determine, whether theſe miniſters of the people called Quakers, objects of contempt and averſion with many of thoſe, who pride themſelves upon their refined reaſon, and their ſuperiority of underſtanding; or the legiſlature of this iſland, who from their rank in life were probably in eſtimation for wiſdom and honour, acted moſt conſiſtently with the principles of religion, humanity and moral juſtice.

After the foregoing narrative of the tendency of the labours of theſe miniſters with the negro ſlaves in this iſland, the preamble of this act, inſinuating apprehenſion of danger to the ſafety

of

of the iſland, muſt appear nothing more than a mere pretence. The prieſts, as we have ſeen, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the miniſtry of theſe friends, ſpread jealouſies of them upon groundleſs ſuggeſtions, and after their cuſtomary manner in that age, endeavoured to excite the ſecular power againſt them, and at length ſeem to have ſucceeded. This act therefore appears to me the reſult of clerical jealouſy, joined to national prejudice, under the bias of an irrational and unjuſt policy, which made them averſe to every meaſure, which might conduce to let in any degree of light into the darkened minds of their ſlaves, abſurdly imagining, that the nearer they were kept to the ſtate of brutes, the more ſafely they might treat them as ſuch. CHAP. XVIII. 1675.

But what ſhall we think of the chriſtianity of theſe iſlanders, who yet laid claim to the name of chriſtians and proteſtants, to make it penal for honeſt men, ſincerely employed in the diſcharge of religious duties, to inſtruct theſe poor heathens, members of their own families or others, in the nature of religion and morality, to give them ſome notions of a ſupreme Being, and exhort them to live in his fear, and bring them into the belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. To make ſuch laudable endeavours penal by a public act of ſtate argues a general depravity of ſentiment, diſgraceful to any people, and as irreconcileable to ſound policy, as to the nature and doctrines of the goſpel.

The diſcovery of America engaged ſeveral nations of Europe to ſend out colonies to poſſeſs and cultivate many of the parts to which they reſpectively laid claim, not only to the continent, but to

CHAP. XVIII. 1675.

the West Indian islands. This island of Barbadoes was early resorted to by several adventurers from England *, who upon their landing found it a desert waste, without the least sign of having ever been inhabited; and being, as well as the other colonies and islands, over-run with wood, consisting of trees very large, hard and stubborn, put the emigrants to great labour and difficulty to clear as much ground as was necessary for their subsistence. This laborious clearing and cultivating of their lands being requisite, in a good degree, for their support, and in a greater degree for acquiring property and raising estates, occasioned a great call from the planters for assistants of ability to labour, and afterwards gave rise to a very iniquitous traffic, a traffic in the human species, wherein the laws of nature and humanity, much more, the more sacred laws of religion and christianity, were most enormously violated, both by the Europeans and Americans.

The former sent their ships to the coast of Africa to take away such of the natives as they could purchase, captives taken in war, whereby they fomented wars and bloodshed amongst the natives, or frequently such as they could trepan, take by surprize or steal *, inhumanly

* Guthrie.

* A negro residing near Philadelphia from his first arrival appearing thoughtful and dejected, frequently dropping tears when fondling his master's children, it incited a curiosity in those who observed him to know the cause, which, when he had got English enough to make himself understood, he let them know in the following moving relation:—That he had a wife and children in his own country; that some of these

manly regardleſs of the pain they ſuffered in being violently torn away from their parents, their wives, their families, their natural connections, and all that they held dear in life; who, though termed ſavages, yet many of them appear more ſuſceptible of the feelings of men than their more ſavage captors, who muſt be dead to all the tender feelings of the human heart, before they could be concerned in a traffic ſo diſgraceful to civilization, and rendering the name of chriſtian odious to infidels.

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——Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri ſacra fames.——

O curſed hunger of pernicious gold,
What bands of faith can impious lucre hold.

As they were thus purchaſed or kidnapped, they were hurried on board the ſhips in waiting to carry off their human cargo, until they procured their complement. On ſhipboard, without regard to health or decency, hundreds being confined together within the narrow limits of the hold, were liable to contract diſtempers, which put a period to the ſorrows of many of them

being ſick, he went in the night-time to fetch water from a ſpring, where he was violently ſeized and carried off by perſons, who were lying in wait to ſurprize and ſeize ſuch of the inhabitants, as might fall in their way, and thence was tranſported to America; that in remembrance of his family and friends, whom he never expected to ſee any more, he could not help giving vent to the anguiſh of his heart, by dropping a tear to their memory. Now can any man, whoſe mind is not rendered quite obdurate by the practice of oppreſſion, or love of gain, hear this relation without commiſerating ſympathy and a participation of his ſorrow? And doubtleſs, the caſes of many of theſe oppreſſed people will be found to be attended with circumſtances equally cruel and aggravating.

CHAP. XVIII. 1675.

them by a premature death; many others found a releaſe from the accumulated ſufferings which awaited the leſs happy ſurvivors, by the ſeaſoning in the iſlands, as it is termed.

When landed they were expoſed naked to ſale [b], like beaſts of burden, and being ſold to the higheſt bidder, branded with an hot iron, as the property of the purchaſer, a property which God or nature never gave the ſeller, which therefore he had no right to transfer, and of conſequence could convey to the purchaſer no right over them, but what himſelf had, that is, none at all.

But arbitrary cuſtom and unequal laws gave a power over them to the purchaſer, who generally conſidered this as a right of property, and often uſed his power over them, or his overſeer for him, with unfeeling barbarity, keeping them to exceſſive labour with the laſh over their backs, which was exerciſed without mercy, allowing them at the ſame time neither proper food nor clothing; while theſe ſlave owners, many of them, ſupported the ſtate and luxury of princes by the labour of thoſe miſerable men; and by them their children being waited upon with the moſt abject homage, were corrupted in their early years with intolerable pride and cruelty, and inured to look upon their ſlaves as beings of a different ſpecies, and by theſe means prepared to perpetuate their bondage and their afflictions.

From this view of the ſlave trade, of the treatment of thoſe ſlaves, and the uſe thoſe iſlanders found them of to ſupport themſelves in eaſe

[b] Abbe Reynal, vol. iv. p. 111.

eaſe and grandeur, it is not difficult to diſcover from what principle the aforeſaid act againſt the Quakers originated; a mean and ſelfiſh jealouſy, leſt their minds being in any degree or by any means enlightened, might attain a clearer knowledge of their rights as men, which they were very deſirous to prevent, as thinking it more conducive to their intereſted views, that they ſhould continue in their native ignorance of moral and religious truth. Tyranny to pagans and ſavages loſeth much of that abhorrence, through the prejudice of cuſtom, which it might be productive of, if exerciſed upon any under the chriſtian name, and therefore they choſe rather, they ſhould continue pagans to be treated as brutes, than to be converted to chriſtianity, and be treated like men. CHAP. XVIII. 1675.

I eſteem it no inconſiderable credit to theſe pious and worthy men, that, from a lively ſympathy with their grievous ſufferings, they exerted their religious labours in favour of this groſsly abuſed part of the human ſpecies, at a time when the rights of human nature were not ſo clearly underſtood; when habitual tyranny and general uſage had given a kind of ſanction to the commerce in ſlaves, when few pleaded their cauſe, but moſt, in palliation of their treatment, looked upon and repreſented them as beings of an inferior order.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

NEW JERSEY, &c.

The Diſcovery of the Continent of North America.—The Dutch and Swedes the firſt Settlers.—King Charles II. diſpoſſeſſes the Dutch, and gives the Country to his Brother the Duke of York, from whom it is named New-York.—Some of the People called Quakers migrate to America.—John Burnyeat pays a religious Viſit to his Friends on that Continent.—Thomas Thurſton, a Ranter, gives Friends in Maryland much Trouble.—John Burnyeat's Care and Endeavours to manifeſt his Unſoundneſs.—In Virginia ſeveral drawn aſide by John Perrot's Notions, forſake meeting together for Worſhip.—John Burnyeat with much Solicitation gets a Meeting among them.—Which proves of Service.

CHAP. XIX.

THE ſucceſs of Columbus and Americus Veſputius in diſcovering the Caribbee Iſlands, and the continent of South America, diffuſed a ſpirit of adventure in ſearch of further diſcoveries of the Weſtern Continent. Sebaſtian Cabot, an Engliſhman of Venetain extraction, an expert navigator, was the next adventurer, who under the patronage of Henry VII. [c] ſailed in queſt of a north-

[c] Smith.

a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, and fell in with the continent of North America, to which country the Engliſh, as the firſt diſcoverers, laid claim; but they made no attempts to ſettle in it, 'till Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of extraordinary genius, planted a colony in the ſouthern part, which he called Virginia, in honour of his miſtreſs queen Elizabeth. CHAP. XIX.

But the firſt attempts to ſettle colonies in this country proving unſucceſsful, damped the ſpirit of emigration for ſome time. In 1606, king James I. granted a new patent of Virginia, under which denomination, beſide the country now diſtinguiſhed by that name, the Provinces of New England, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania and Maryland, were included. 1606.

In the interval between the diſcovery of the middle part of this continent, and the actual poſſeſſion thereof by any colony from England, Henry Hudſon, an Engliſhman by birth, but in the ſervice or employ of the Dutch Eaſt India Company, ſailing alſo in queſt of a northern paſſage to China, and being diſappointed in the principal purpoſe of his voyage; coaſted along the northern ſhore of America in ſearch of ſome diſcovery, whereby his employers might in ſome meaſure be indemnified for the expenſes of his fruitleſs attempt to find out the paſſage deſired: After ſailing up the river to which he gave his own name, and reconnoitring the coaſt and its inhabitants, he returned to Amſterdam from whence he ſailed.

The Dutch nation, in conſequence of this diſcovery, laid claim to this part of the continent, and the court of England maintained their claim The Dutch and Swedes the firſt ſettlers.

to

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to the ſame, upon the plea that Cabot firſt diſcovered it for them. However, the Dutch ſent a colony hither, who gave to the country the name of New Belgia. The ſucceeding diſturbances and civil wars in England, between Charles I. and his parliament, furniſhed them time to ſettle without moleſtation, and to build forts for their defence, and a town on the iſland of Mahattos, to which they gave the name of New Amſterdam. Sometime after them another colony emigrated from Sweden, and ſettled in a part of this country. So the Dutch and Swedes appear to be the firſt Europeans who formed ſettlements in this part of America, and remained there unmoleſted, until king Charles II. in 1665, ſending out a ſquadron with a conſiderable body of land forces, diſpoſſeſſed them, and gave this country to his brother the Duke of York, from whom both the town of New Amſterdam and the province of Nova Belgia received the name of New York. The Duke of York alſo, in 1669, granted a part of this territory to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, ordering it to be called Nova Cæſaria or New Jerſey.

King Charles diſpoſſeſſeth the Dutch, and gives the country to his brother.

This country as well as Virginia being thus ſettled, many years previous to the grant made to William Penn, ſome of the people called Quakers had migrated to both theſe colonies, ſometime before Penſylvania was inhabited by any Europeans[d]. Previous to the year 1665, when it firſt fell under the government of England, ſome of this people had removed to ſettle at Middletown and other places in Eaſt Jerſey. And in that year the firſt ſhip arrived, which brought any

Some of the people called Quakers emigrate to America.

[d] Samuel Smith.

any of them to the weſtern diviſion; the paſſengers were landed at Salem, where many of them took up their reſidence. In the year 1677 others followed, and ſettled at Burlington and Glouceſter. After theſe a ſucceſſion of new ſettlers increaſed the number of this people conſiderably; ſo that in the Jerſeys, as well as in Virginia, Maryland and New England, there were many ſettlements of them before William Penn obtained his grant of Penſylvania.

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In the year 1665 John Burnyeat, after his ſervice in Barbadoes was finiſhed, took ſhipping for theſe parts of America, and landed in Maryland in the ſecond month, and ſpent the ſummer in travelling, in the exerciſe of his gift in the miniſtry, amongſt his friends and others in this province. The meetings were large and much favoured[e]; friends were greatly comforted, and ſeveral others convinced. But in this place, friends met with great trouble from one Thomas Thurſton, and a party which he drew for a while after him. This man ſeems to have been tainted with a ſpirit of ranteriſm, although profeſſing himſelf of this ſociety; in his converſation looſe and diſorderly, his conduct ſcandalized his profeſſion; in his diſpoſition perverſe and ſelf-willed, he gave great diſturbance to their meetings by public oppoſition and bitter contention; and yet diſqualified as he was, he wanted to be the leader of a people, and ſome were ſo weak as to be betrayed by him to their hurt. John Burnyeat, from a zealous concern to remove occaſion of offence through his evil conduct, to reſcue the ſimple from the ſnare of his deceptive inſinuations,

John Burnyeat viſits his friends on the American continent.

T. Thurſton creates much trouble.

[e] John Burnyeat's Journal.

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ons, and to reſtore peace and order to the public aſſemblies of his friends, took much pains, in concert with faithful friends of the province, to detect the man's conduct, by ſearching out matters of fact, and to convince the underſtandings of his followers of the error of his principles, and unſoundneſs of his heart; and through divine aſſiſtance they were ſo ſucceſsful, that by their endeavours moſt of the people came to ſee the man, to forſake him, and to return into unity with their friends. But Thurſton loſt himſelf as to religion, and declined in his outward circumſtances.

J. Burnyeat's care to manifeſt the man, &c.

John Burnyeat having ſpent the ſummer in ſettling his friends in peace, and in a good degree reſtoring order amongſt them, departed from Maryland to Virginia, and found ſufficient employment there for a conſiderable part of the ſucceeding winter. For here, as well as in Barbadoes, he found many of the profeſſors of truth, even the greater part of them, led away by the fanciful opinions of John Perrot, who carried his erroneous and extravagant notion of being got above forms, much farther than he had done in England; for here civil government and religious order being more unſettled, gave him an opportunity of carrying his whimſies to a greater extreme, and propagating them with leſs reſtraint or diſcouragement, leading his bewildered followers into undue liberties, inconſiſtent with the ſtrictneſs of their profeſſion, or of good report with any religious or ſober people; for they had almoſt entirely forſaken their meeting for divine worſhip, ſcarcely aſſembling together once a year, looking upon it as a form; much leſs, it is to be preſumed, would they aſ-

In Virginia ſeveral drawn aſide by J. Perrot's notions, forſake their meetings.

ſemble

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ſemble with any other people, who were ſtill more in the form. Of conſequence the reaſonable and profitable duty of public united worſhip being neglected, they loſt ground in religion, and the effects of backſliding manifeſted their loſs, for they had laid aſide the form, appearance and plainneſs of their profeſſion in dreſs and language; and were become looſe and irreligious in their conduct, equally with thoſe who made little profeſſion of religion; ſhunning the croſs to evade ſuffering; and preferring outward eaſe to the teſtimony of a conſcience void of offence towards God and man; which they had been zealouſly concerned to preſerve by a diligence in keeping up their meetings, through great ſufferings, 'till this man came amongſt them, and beguiled them from the ſimplicity of truth into a fleſhly liberty, whereby the offence of the croſs ceaſed, and the power of godlineſs (with the form) was loſt. So that when John Burnyeat came thither he found it difficult to get a meeting amongſt them. But in him we have a freſh inſtance of the lively zeal, diligence and earneſtneſs of engagement with which theſe primitive promulgators of religious truth were actuated in the diſcharge of duty. For when he ſaw their reluctance to give him a public meeting, he did not leave them under their deluſion, but ſought private opportunities of treating with them, to convince them of their miſtakes, to vindicate the principles of the ſociety, the conſiſtency of their teſtimony, and rectitude of practice proceeding therefrom, both in their diligent meeting to worſhip God, walking in all orderly converſation, ſobriety and temperance,

J. Burnyeat with much ſolicitation gets a meeting amongſt them,

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temperance, as in his ſight, and fulfilling their ſocial and moral duties to mankind. By patient continuance in repeated viſits and conferences of this kind he at length obtained a meeting with them, which, being favoured with the overſhadowing of divine power, ſeems to have been very conducive to open the underſtandings of ſeveral to ſee their error more clearly, and to the revival of more regard to their religious duties; and by the continuance of his goſpel labours, and the renewed convictions of the ſpirit of truth in their own hearts, many came in time to ſee through the wiles of the enemy, and to be again ſerviceable members of religious ſociety.

which is conducive to the benefit of many.

He afterwards travelled a while longer in theſe provinces, and from thence into New England, Long Iſland and Rhode Iſland; and about the latter end of 1ſt month, 1667, took ſhipping for Barbadoes, where he ſpent ſome time, had many large meetings to edification, wherein ſeveral were convinced; and when his ſervice was finiſhed there, he returned to England.

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CHAP. XX.

John Burnyeat pays a ſecond Viſit to America in company with William Simpſon, who dies ſoon after their arrival.—Half-year's Meeting at Oyſter-bay.—Diſturbed by the Oppoſition of ſome diſorderly Perſons, who read a Manuſcript they had drawn up.—John Burnyeat oppoſes their Cavils, and vindicates his Friends.—John Burnyeat embarks for Maryland, and thence to Virginia, where he propoſeth the eſtabliſhing a Men's Meeting of Diſcipline.—General Meeting at Weſt River, to which came George Fox and others.—They are in danger paſſing through the Gulf of Florida.—George Fox explains the Benefit of Meetings of Diſcipline.—General Meeting at Cliffs.

CHAP. XX.

1670. John Burnyeat pays a ſecond viſit to his friends in America, in company with W. Simpſon, who dies ſoon after their landing in Barbadoes.

SOON after the yearly meeting in London in 1670, John Burnyeat, in company with William Simpſon, took ſhipping a ſecond time for the American plantations; and after a paſſage of twelve weeks landed at Barbadoes, where William Simpſon, an innocent humble man, who like the reſt of his brethren had ſuffered much perſecution, was ſoon taken off by a fever, which was a near trial to his companion, (they having walked together in near unity and brotherly affection) to be left alone in a foreign land, under the diſcouraging proſpect of many difficulties and diſagreeable occurrences to encounter, conſidering the ſtate of the church in that

CHAP. XX. 1670.

that iſland; but he writes, the Lord was with him, and by his power and good ſpirit aſſiſted him to diſcharge his duty fully, ſo that he left that iſland in peace, under the ſenſe thereof.

From Barbadoes he took ſhipping for New York, where he arrived in about four weeks; from thence he travelled through Long Iſland, Rhode Iſland, and ſundry other parts of New England, and in his return came to Middletown in Eaſt Jerſey, where he had ſome meetings among friends ſettled there; and from thence he returned to Oyſter-bay in Long Iſland, to the half-year's meeting, which began about the 8th day of the 8th month. It appears to have been held to general edification and comfort, through the meetings for worſhip. After them the meeting for diſcipline, which was gathered in much quietneſs and agreeable harmony, was diſturbed by ſome diſorderly profeſſors, who had imbibed a prejudice againſt diſcipline, and enmity againſt thoſe friends who were zealous for the eſtabliſhment thereof, for the purpoſe of preſerving good order, and keeping the reputation of the ſociety unblemiſhed. For it ſeems the ſpirit of oppoſition, which had given friends in England much trouble, had ſpread to theſe remote regions; and notwithſtanding the plauſible pretexts with which the diſſent was covered over, it appears to me to have originated in unſtable minds, from a deſire of taking liberties not allowed by, but inconſiſtent with, the profeſſion of godlineſs in ſome, and of evading the heavy ſufferings to which the ſociety was at this time expoſed;

Half year's meeting at Oyſter Bay,

diſturbed by the oppoſition of ſome diſorderly profeſſors.

[1] J. Burnyeat's journal.

1670.

poſed; and as the proſecutions at home had driven many of other ſocieties of diſſenters to ſeek an aſylum in this quarter of the globe, ſo it is not improbable but ſome of thoſe who had been infected with John Perrott's notions, had from the like motive removed beyond the reach of perſecution, and diſſeminated their principles of diſſent and oppoſition to good order here. They directed the efforts of their envy and bitterneſs as they had done in England, principally againſt George Fox and his epiſtles of ſalutary advice, againſt which they had drawn up a book in manuſcript, which they demanded to have read in the meeting. They were told the epiſtles and papers were there, and they might make their objections, which friends would endeavour to anſwer; but this propoſal not ſatisfying them, and perſiſting in their purpoſe of reading their book, the meeting gave way, and ſat in ſilent attention till they had gone through it, and then John Burnyeat recapitulating the principal parts thereof, vindicated George Fox and his friends in the purity of their intentions, and religious care for the welfare of the ſociety in promoting men's and women's meetings for diſcipline, by explaining the benefit and advantage thereof to the ſociety at large, and to the individual members thereof; refuting and reproving their ſlanders and falſehoods, whereby they had hurt the minds of ſeveral young and newly-convinced friends; and placing facts that had been miſrepreſented in a true light, he gave great ſatisfaction to friends in general, and brought them to a perception of the miſtaken notions they had let into their minds, through the inſi-

They force the reading a manuſcript they had drawn up upon the meeting.

J. Burnyeat oppoſes their cavils, and vindicates his friends.

CHAP. XX. 1671.

nuations of one George Dennis and two others, who were chiefly concerned in writing the book, and in the oppoſition. And after this ſeaſonable interpoſition for the information and reconciliation of friends, the meeting ſettled down in harmony, and was conducted and concluded to mutual ſatisfaction and edification. After all the meetings were over, friends comforted, the oppoſers refuted, the ſimple-hearted who had been beguiled by them, reſcued from their ſnares, and peace and order reſtored, John Burnyeat proceeded in his travels by Fluſhing and Graveſend to New York, from whence he embarked for Maryland, being accompanied by Daniel Gould from Rhode Iſland. From Maryland they proceeded to Virginia, where John had the conſolation to obſerve the good effects of his former labour and ſervice in that province, finding friends in general revived into a good degree of religious care in their conduct and converſation, a lively zeal for keeping up their meetings for worſhip, and a diſpoſition to receive him and his miniſtry with ready attention, whereby his meetings with them were to mutual ſatisfaction and edification.

J. Burnyeat, in company with Daniel Gould, embarks for Maryland, and thence proceeds to Virginia,

Finding them in this agreeable diſpoſition, in order to confirm and ſtrengthen them in it, and for the help of thoſe who were not yet recovered from the effect of John Perrot's infection, he propoſed to them the eſtabliſhing of a men's meeting of diſcipline, to promote good order amongſt them, that might be inſtrumental to the bringing back thoſe, who were yet ſcattered, to the unity of the body, to exhort the careleſs and lukewarm profeſſors to religious thought-

where he propoſes the eſtabliſhing a men's meeting of diſcipline.

thoughtfulneſs, and to exert their zealous endeavours to preſerve the reputation of the ſociety unblemiſhed. CHAP. XX. 1671.

[a]Then recommending them to God and the word of his Grace, he took boat again for Maryland, where arriving after a troubleſome and tedious paſſage, after ſome time ſpent amongſt them, he appointed a general meeting at Weſt River for the friends in the province, that he might ſee them together before he departed, propoſing to take his leave of them, and proceed on his way to return for England. To this meeting came George Fox, William Edmundſon, and ſundry other friends, whom he had left behind in the Weſt Indies.

General meeting at Weſt River, to which came G. Fox and others.

Theſe friends ſailed from Jamaica for Maryland, and after a tedious and difficult paſſage, eſpecially in paſſing through the Gulf of Florida, meeting with contrary winds and tempeſtuous weather, they were in great danger; but being mercifully preſerved, and the weather growing more temperate, in ſomething more than ſix weeks they reached the mouth of Potuxan river in the Bay of Cheſapeak, where another great ſtorm ariſing, a boat near them, with ſeveral paſſengers on board, being in great diſtreſs, the ſhip, which they were in, took in the paſſengers before the boat was loſt. Theſe faithful miniſters, ever diligent in propagating the goſpel and ſpreading the truth, not diſcouraged by perils by ſea or perils by land, from a zealous exertion of their miniſterial labours on all occaſions, confiding in Divine Providence for protection through all proving ſea-

G. Fox and company in danger paſſing the Gulf of Florida.

[a] J. Burnyeat's journal.

CHAP. XX. 1672.

ſons, and ſtrengthened and ſupported by the conſciouſneſs of integrity in diſcharge of duty, took the preſent opportunity to hold a religious meeting with theſe new paſſengers to mutual ſatisfaction. But their proviſions growing ſhort, through the tediouſneſs of their paſſage, and their having thus got an additional number to feed, without any addition of food, their ſcanty ſtore was ſoon conſumed. In this exigency George Pattiſon, at the hazard of his life, took boat, and providentially got ſafe aſhore; and ſoon after ſome friends reſiding in that part of Maryland came aboard, and brought the reſt ſafe to land alſo, very opportunely, their proviſions being quite ſpent.

Soon after their landing they went directly to the general meeting at Weſt River, appointed by John Burnyeat, which afforded them, as well as him, a ſeaſonable opportunity of ſeeing the friends of the Province together. The meeting was very large, and held four days, being attended generally by friends, and numbers of other ſocieties, and ſeveral of the principal rank among them. After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings for diſcipline ſucceeded, in which George Fox, with admirable ability and clearneſs, explained the uſefulneſs and benefit, the end and the manner of holding theſe meetings. His friends here received his directions with becoming condeſcenſion and cordial ſatisfaction, and the meeting being ended, friends ſeparated, under a ſenſe of divine favour. After this the travellers went together to another general meeting appointed at the Cliffs, which was alſo large, and the people attended reverently to the doctrines

G. Fox explains the benefit of meetings of diſcipline.

General meeting at Cliffs.

doctrines delivered there. They had alſo a general meeting for diſcipline, at which the ſeveral particular meetings of diſcipline were eſtabliſhed; and moſt of thoſe who had apoſtatized with Thurſton, and remained unreconciled, returned into unity with their friends. CHAP. XX. 1672.

CHAP. XXI.

European Friends part company.—William Edmundſon goes to Virginia.—Thence through the Wilderneſs to Carolina.—Returns to Virginia to a Men's Meeting appointed there.—Friends here agree to the Eſtabliſhment of Diſcipline.—William Edmundſon paſſeth on to New York, and hath a Meeting there at an Inn.

CHAP. XXI. 1672.

AFTER theſe two general meetings the friends from Europe parted company, dividing themſelves upon their reſpective ſervices. James Lancaſter and John Cartwright went by ſea to New England; George Fox, John Burnyeat, Robert Widders and George Pattiſon toward Jerſey, and William Edmundſon for Virginia. Here William, as John Burnyeat had done before him, found ſundry diſorders yet unremoved. He had ſeveral edifying meetings amongſt them, whereby having brought them to a better temper, and cultivated a friendly diſpoſition in their minds, he appointed a men's meeting, for the ſettling of an orderly diſcipline

European friends part company.

W. Edmundſon goes to Virginia,

CHAP. XXI.

1672, thence through the Wilderneſs to Carolina.

pline amongſt them, after the model of that eſtabliſhed in England and Ireland. From hence he travelled to Carolina, through a deſolate uninhabited wilderneſs; he and his guides paſſed two nights in the woods, in the latter of which he could not lie down, it rained ſo violently, the ground wet, and himſelf wet to the ſkin, ſo that he paſſed the night partly under a tree for ſhelter, and partly walking between the trees; added to this uncommodious circumſtance, his guide was uncertain about the way, but William, having the day before advanced farther in the woods than his guides, who were tired and faint, had diſcovered a path, to which he leading the way, it took them to Henry Philips's houſe by Albemarle river, the place of their deſignation.

His hoſt and hoſteſs, who had been convinced in New England, and removed their reſidence hither, received him and his company with remarkable gladneſs, not having ſeen the face of a friend for many years. It was firſt-day morning, but William being weary and faint with faſting and travelling, found it requiſite to take ſome reſt, he therefore appointed a meeting about the middle of the day, to which many people came, but, as is too much the caſe in theſe deſert countries, they ſeemed to have little ſenſe of religion amongſt them, for they ſat down in the meeting ſmoaking tobacco; notwithſtanding which, William's teſtimony, in the authority of the goſpel, had that reach upon them, that they were affected with

[b] William Edmundſon, p. 59.

great

great ſeriouſneſs, deſired him to ſtay with them, and favour them with more meetings. CHAP. XXI.

At this meeting, one Tems, a juſtice of peace, and his wife, being convinced, deſired to have the next meeting at their houſe, which was accordingly held, and being favoured with divine regard, was conducive to the convincement and edification of ſeveral of the auditory. 1672.

Returns to Virginia to a mens' meeting appointed there.

Having appointed a men's meeting in Virginia, he was under a neceſſity of returning thither from this ſecond meeting in Carolina. After a journey of great pain, through ſickneſs contracted by hardſhips in the wilderneſs, he reached the men's meeting, where friends readily conſented to the eſtabliſhment of diſcipline, and deſired to have another meeting of the ſame kind appointed before he left the country, to which agreeing, and in the intermediate time viſiting ſundry places and meetings to ſatisfaction, he attended the ſaid men's meeting; previous to which a meeting for worſhip being held, it was attended by ſeveral perſons of condition, as Juſtice Taverner and his wife, who was one of the ſociety, Major-general Bennet, Colonel Teve and others. This meeting proved to general edification, the doctrines of the goſpel being delivered with powerful energy, and the hearts of the people affected with religious thoughtfulneſs. When this meeting was ended, the members of the ſociety withdrew into a large upper room to the men's meeting, to confer upon and ſettle the affairs of the church. Juſtice Taverner's wife, who was of the ſociety, informing William that the major-general and Colonel Teve, and others below, were deſirous to ſpeak with him,

Friends here agree to the eſtabliſhment of diſcipline.

CHAP. XXI. 1672.

him, he went down; they told him they only wanted to take leave of him, and acknowledge the truth of his doctrine; whereupon apologizing for friends withdrawing, he told them the reaſon was, *to lay down a method for providing for their poor widows and fatherleſs children; to take care that no diſorders were committed in the ſociety, and that all lived orderly, according to what they profeſſed.* That in England and in other places friends had ſuch meetings appointed for the like purpoſes. This account gained the major-general's approbation, he ſaying he was glad there was ſuch care and order amongſt friends, and wiſhed it had been ſo amongſt others.

W. Edmundſon goeth to New York, and hath a meeting at his inn.

Having thus been inſtrumental to ſettle good order in ſome meaſure amongſt the members of the ſociety in Virginia, he returned through Maryland to New York. He was very deſirous of a religious meeting with the inhabitants of this town, where no meeting of friends had ever been held; and the owner of the inn where he lodged being willing to accommodate him with a large room, the meeting was accordingly held, largely attended, and amongſt others by ſome of the chief officers, magiſtrates and principal inhabitants. They were very ſolid and attentive to the doctrine he delivered, and affected thereby, which appeared in their affectionate demeanour to him after the meeting was over. From thence he went to Long Iſland and Shelter Iſland, where he met with George Fox and his companions on their way from New England to Virginia.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

George Fox, &c. go to the Eaſtern Shore.—Thence by Land through the Wilderneſs to New England.—Lodged in the Houſe of an Indian King.—Half Year's Meeting in Long Iſland.—Oppoſition being expected from a diſſatisfied Party a Day is ſet apart for hearing them.—Yearly Meeting in Rhode Iſland held for ſix Days.—Diſcipline eſtabliſhed.—J. Burnyeat and others go to New England.—Meeting diſturbed at Scituate.—Thatcher, Prieſt at Boſton, endeavours to ſtir up Perſecution.—James Lancaſter and John Stubbs impriſoned at Boſton and baniſhed.—Bellingham, Governor of Maſſachuſets, dies. Meet with little Succeſs among ſome who are drawn aſide by J. Perrot.—Diſpute with Roger Williams.—William Edmundſon embarks for Ireland.

CHAP. XXII.

1672. G. Fox, &c. go to the Eaſtern ſhore.

AFTER their ſeparating in Maryland to their reſpective ſervices, the laſt-mentioned friends, viz. George Fox and his companions, went by boat to the Eaſtern ſhore, and had a large meeting there, to which, beſides many perſons of quality of the country, came one of the Indian kings, and ſome other Indians coming thither, George Fox had two meetings with them in the evening of the ſame day; they ſeemed very attentive to his doctrine, and owned it to be truth. Then he deſired that what he had ſpoken to them, that they would ſpeak to their people, and make them acquainted that God by his witneſs in their hearts

CHAP. XXII.

hearts was willing to make himſelf known in their wilderneſs country, and ſet up his glorious enſign of righteouſneſs amongſt them.

1672. Go by land through the wilderneſs to New England.

From hence they took their journey by land for New England, which at that time was an undertaking of great peril and difficulty, moſt of the intermediate country being a dreary uninhabited wilderneſs, interſected by large and deep rivers, ſome of which they headed, others they paſſed in canoes, ſwimming their horſes by the ſides; ſometimes they were under a difficulty to procure Indian guides, and the Dutchman whom they had hired was not willing to undertake the guidance without an Indian; they lodged ſome nights in the woods, ſome in the Indian wigwams. In ſome whole day's journeys they ſaw no human creature beſides their own company, not an houſe or dwelling-place in the way. One night reaching an Indian town, they lodged at the king's houſe or wigwam, who entertained them with affectionate kindneſs, and his attendants were aſſiduouſly reſpectful to them; they fared and lodged as well as himſelf, but proviſions were ſcantily afforded them, not for want of hoſpitality, but becauſe he had been unſucceſsful in the chace and caught little or nothing that day. They lay on mats on the ground, with blocks of wood or ſuch like for their pillows. In nine days they reached Middletown in Eaſt Jerſey, where was a plantation of Engliſh, and amongſt them ſome of the people called Quakers. After a ſhort ſtay at the houſe of Richard Hartſhorn, a man of an hoſpitable, benevolent and honourable character, who had lately removed from London, they were by him carried over in his

Lodged in the houſe of an Indian king.

his boat to Long Iſland, whither they were haſtening to the half year's meeting to be held at Oyſter Bay for that iſland and the province of New York. The ſaid half year's meeting began the fourth day after their arrival, and laſted four days. The two firſt days were employed in holding publick meetings for worſhip; the third day was allotted for holding the men's and women's meetings for the needful care of the affairs of the church.

CHAP. XXII.

1672. Half-year's meeting in Long Iſland.

As oppoſition was expected from theſe prejudiced and contentious ſpirits, who had diſturbed the laſt half year's meeting there, George Fox did not think it proper that the ſervice of the men's and women's meetings ſhould be interrupted by their cavils; but let them know, that if they had any objection to make to the diſcipline of the ſociety, a meeting ſhould be appointed for the purpoſe; the fourth day was therefore ſet apart for this buſineſs, open to as many of the opponents as choſe to attend it, and to friends likewiſe; but thoſe of the prejudiced party, who had been ſo free in their reflections upon George Fox when remote from them, began now to fawn upon him, and caſt the blame upon others, particularly George Dennis endeavoured to exculpate himſelf; but John Burnyeat, who had been witneſs to his conduct at the laſt half year's meeting as well as this, proved evidently that he was the principal actor and inſtigator in the oppoſition to the good order of the ſociety, and in reading their book of reflections thereupon, and upon George Fox as the founder thereof, whereby his deceitfulneſs being made manifeſt, he and his party were confounded and foiled to that degree, that their attempts

Oppoſition being expected from G. Dennis and his party, a day is ſet apart for hearing them.

CHAP. XXII.

tempts to diſturb the peace of the ſociety were entirely fruſtrated.

1672. Yearly meeting in Rhode-Iſland held for ſix days.

After ſome little time ſpent in Long Iſland in the work of the miniſtry, theſe European friends took ſhipping for Rhode Iſland to attend the yearly meeting to be held there for the province of New England, where they met with John Stubbs, juſt arrived from Barbadoes, and James Lancaſter and John Cartwright from New England, with a number of friends from different parts of the province. This yearly meeting was continued by adjournments for ſix days ſucceſſively; the firſt four were employed in publick meetings of worſhip, to which the governor and ſeveral juſtices giving daily attendance, their countenance, drew abundance of people from all parts of the iſland, amongſt whom theſe friends found an open reception for their miniſtry: For this large auditory behaved in a manner remarkably ſolid, becoming the ſolemnity of the occaſion, hearing the doctrines of truth with diligent attention, and regarding the promulgators thereof with cordial affection during theſe four days; the fifth was appointed for holding the men's meeting, and the ſixth for the women's meeting, which were both large, ſolemn, inſtructive, and beneficially conducive to the end of the appointment. Many important remarks being made upon the uſe and intent of meetings of diſcipline in general, the ſeveral particular men's and women's meetings, to be held in the different parts of the province conſtituting this yearly meeting, were agreed upon and fixed, to take care of the poor and other general concerns of the church, that the members of the church might not blemiſh

Diſcipline eſtabliſhed.

the

the truth they profeſſed by a life and converſation inconſiſtent with the principles thereof, but by the purity of their manners and integrity of their lives, might be of a good ſavour among their neighbours, blameneſs and harmleſs, without rebuke. CHAP. XXII. 1672.

During their ſtay on the iſland, a marriage was ſolemnized between two of the people called Quakers at the houſe of a friend who had formerly been governor thereof. Some juſtices and many others, as well as friends, attended, who all confeſſed they never ſaw ſuch ſolemnity on ſuch an occaſion, ſo ſolemn a marriage, and ſuch decency of order.

George Fox and Robert Widders ſtayed yet longer in the iſland; but John Burnyeat, John Cartwright and George Pattiſon went to the eaſtern parts of New England, in company with the friends from thence. Their firſt meetings were at Marſhfield, Sandwich and Scituate, to advantage and conſolation. As John Burnyeat was in the exerciſe of his miniſtry at Scituate, ſome of the elders of the independent church came to the meeting, which was held in an orchard, and was very large, and made oppoſition to him; but the people being much diſpleaſed at the interruption, deſired them to be ſtill 'till they had done, upon which they went away to their own worſhip, and after it was over returned to hold a diſputation with theſe friends, in which directing their endeavours to make the Quakers appear in the eyes of the auditory as a people under deluſion and error, John Burnyeat propoſed to them, that ſince they repreſented him and his friends as *hereticks* and their own church as a true church, that they ſhould try both

J. Burnyeat and others go to New-England.

Meeting diſturbed at Scituate.

CHAP. XXII. 1672.

both by the criterion laid down by Chriſt himſelf, that is, by fruits; and although they were averſe to cloſe in with the propoſal, he proceeded to recount the fruits of their church, viz. fining and diſtraining for not attending their worſhip, impriſonings, cruel whippings, cutting off ears, burning in the hand, baniſhing and putting to death, only upon account of religion; if they could prove theſe to be the fruits of a true Chriſtian church, they were to be owned as ſuch; but if not, they were to be denied: Theſe elders could not reliſh this kind of argument, having ſome of them, as he was informed, been themſelves active in perſecution, and therefore put an end to this diſcourſe upon a diſagreeable ſubject by withdrawing.

The violence of perſecution was by this time abated in this province, (the perſecuting magiſtrates being moſtly dead) yet not wholly aboliſhed; ſome of their preachers and others of the old ſtamp ſtill remaining, uſed their endeavours to keep the ſpirit thereof alive. The next day theſe friends went to Boſton, where many people came into the meeting, and while John Burnyeat was ſpeaking to them, the marſhal and a conſtable came in. The marſhal bidding the conſtable, who was a moderate man, to execute his office, he replied, *So he did, he was to ſee the king's peace kept.* He ſtood a while to hear, went away, and told the deputy governor he had been at the meeting, and heard nothing like blaſphemy, but ſolid and important truths, or to that effect. The people ſtayed and furniſhed him with a fair opportunity to preach the goſpel to their edification, and to vindicate the ſociety from the calumnies of the prieſts and others. The people

CHAP. XXII.

ple departed greatly ſatisfied, and applauded the doctrine they had heard, which when Thatcher, one of the Boſton preachers, underſtood, actuated by the old ſpirit of perſecution ſtill alive in him, the ſucceeding firſt-day, in his ſermon, he excited the magiſtrates preſent againſt the Quakers, who immediately ſent to take friends from their meeting, and committed ſeveral of them to priſon. Alſo James Lancaſter and John Stubbs, who came after theſe the following week, were impriſoned and baniſhed out of the colony by R. Bellingham, governor, who had been deputy under J. Endicott, and a party with him, in all the inhuman ſeverity of his government; but his power of puniſhing was near its termination, for ſoon after this he went diſtracted, and in that ſtate departed this life the 7th of December in this year.

1672. Thatcher, prieſt of Boſton, endeavours to excite the magiſtrates againſt Quakers.

Theſe friends from Europe continued their travels and religious labours for ſome time longer on this continent, edifying their friends by their miniſtry, ſettling meetings of diſcipline for preſerving and promoting a circumſpect converſation, Chriſtian charity and tenderneſs, brotherly affection and cordial unity amongſt them, whoſe numbers were now increaſed by convincement. To avoid the tediouſneſs of repeating ſimilar circumſtances I forbear tracing their reſpective movements in their further ſervices, reſtricting myſelf to the more *notable paſſages* to be met with in their progreſs.

[c] Beſſe, vol. 2, p. 259.

John

CHAP. XXII.

1672. Meet with ſome who had been carried away with Perrot's notions,

amongſt whom they endeavour to introduce order and diſcipline in vain.

John Burnyeat and his companions continued their journey to Salem, and here met with ſome more of thoſe who had been perverted by John Perrot's notions in keeping on their hats at the time of publick prayer, amongſt whom John Burnyeat and his friends exerciſed much labour in Chriſtian patience and ſolicitude to convince them of their error; they appointed a ſecond meeting with them, in order to prevail with them to eſtabliſh meetings of diſcipline, the ſervice of which being clearly explained to them, they could not help aſſenting to the expediency thereof, and yet when preſſed to come into the practice of holding theſe meetings regularly, they diſcovered a manifeſt reluctance. John Burnyeat obſerving their diſinclination to comply with the advice of their friends, repreſented to them, with ſorrow, that while they continued in the ſpirit they were in, they could not act in the church in the unity of the body, to the honour of the holy head, or the edification of the members thereof, 'till they ſaw their error and condemned it. So ſaying he left them. However this remonſtrance had that effect, that, in ſeveral, their conſciences were ſo awakened, as to let them ſee their miſtake, condemn it, and return into unity with the body[k].

From hence they journeyed on to Providence and Rhode Iſland; at the former place they met with a company of Ranters, who went generally under the name of Gortonians, * but called themſelves

[k] J. Burnyeat, p. 53.

* This name was given them from their leader, Samuel Gorton, who is repreſented by Neale, in his Hiſtory of New England, as a moſt impudent enthuſiaſt, who had no ſettled notions

themſelves Generaliſts. Theſe people gave them ſome trouble, and a greater degree of diſguſt by their wicked and immoral principles, maintaining that no creaturely actions could be ſin, neither fornication nor drunkenneſs, nor ſuch like immoralities; only ſpiritual uncleanneſs; the outward action was but creaturely; thus, like the Ranters in England, making an unintelligible diſcrimination between the action, and the temper of the mind it was done in. CHAP. XXII. 1672.

At Rhode-Iſland they met with George Fox and his companions going weſtward, in whoſe company George Pattiſon joined. They alſo here received a challenge from Roger Williams of Providence with fourteen propoſitions, which he engaged to maintain againſt any of the Quakers from Old England, propoſing a diſcuſſion of the firſt ſeven in Rhode-Iſland. The challenge was accepted, the meetings held for three days, and terminated in a clear conviction of the envy and prejudice of the old man, whoſe propoſitions (as he called them) were a collection of general charges and accuſations, which he could not make good, but which were plainly

notions of religion, having diſowned the principles of the Puritans, and embraced no other that he knew of; that he was not only unprincipled in religion, but of turbulent behaviour in every ſtate where he reſided. He was baniſhed from Boſton and Plymouth, and went to Rhode Iſland; that he behaved with ſuch inſolence there, that he was whipped and baniſhed from that iſland, and then went over to Roger Williams at Providence, where entering the lands of ſome Indians, he had like to have involved the Engliſh in an Indian war, for which he was condemned, with ſix of his diſciples, by the Maſſachuſet's government to the work-houſe for ſix months, and afterwards to depart the country. Neale.

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disproved to the satisfaction of the auditory, whereby at length he was silenced.

1672.

The friends, whom William Edmundson had joined, had afterwards a religious meeting with the people, who, at the conclusion thereof, departed well satisfied and kindly affectioned to them. Soon after William Edmundson proceeded to Boston, from whence he embarked for Ireland and returned home.

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John Burnyeat and John Stubbs continue their Travels.—Rigidness prevalent in the Government of Massachusets.—At Greenwich a Priest raises an Expectation of a Dispute, but procures a Warrant to apprehend them.—The Magistrate being moderate advises them to a Conference.—Remarkable Incident.—George Fox, Robert Widders, &c. travel through the Woods to Maryland.—General Meeting there.—They go to Virginia by Water.—Thence through the Wilderness to Carolina.—Where they visit the Indians as well as the Colonists.—Return to Europe.

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1672.

J. Burnyeat and J. Stubbs continue their journey.

AFTER William Edmundson had taken his passage to Ireland, John Burnyeat and John Stubbs continued their journey through New England. When they came into the government of

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of Maſſachuſets they found the root of bitterneſs ſtill fruitful in that quarter. When they appointed meetings, the officers would come and prohibit them, and ſo terrify the people with menaces of bringing them under the penalties of their eccleſiaſtical laws, that few or *none* durſt come near them; when they remonſtrated to the officers and elders they would not ſtay to hear them, but would only exclaim againſt their religion and them as *hereticks*, although at the ſame time confeſſing they knew not what their principles were, ſpeaking evil of the things they underſtood not, and tacitly manifeſting that they had proceeded in perſecuting this ſociety, even to baniſhment and death, without ever giving them a fair opportunity of being heard, or well knowing for what reaſon they inflicted theſe ſeverities upon them. At other times the elders would come to diſpute with them, on purpoſe by their preſence, to awe the younger people from coming to hear their doctrine, which excited the deſire of the young people ſo far, that ſince they could get no publick opportunity of hearing them, ſeveral of theſe reſorted to their chamber at the inn, to whom theſe friends explained their principles, proving them by the ſcriptures, whereby theſe young people were well ſatisfied and edified; but when the elders and dry formal profeſſors diſcovered this private opportunity, and underſtood they were much affected thereby, they ſent a conſtable to command all to depart, which they declining, the innkeeper, who was an elder, took away the candle, upon which they went away much diſpleaſed.

1672. Rigidneſs prevalent in the government of Maſſachuſets.

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1672. At Greenwich the prieſt who had raiſed expectations of a diſpute, procures a warrant to apprehend theſe friends.

When they came to Greenwich they met with ſome friends and appointed a meeting there. The prieſt of this town had frequently made the ſuppoſed errors of this ſociety the topick of his invectives in the pulpit, and boaſted how he would diſpute with the Quakers if any ſhould come thither, which occaſioned a great concourſe to the meeting, in expectation of the prieſt's making good his vaunt; but he thought beſt to cut diſputation ſhort, by mounting his horſe early in the morning and riding to Stamford, about two miles, to complain to a magiſtrate, who ſent a conſtable with a warrant to apprehend the ſaid two friends; they coming at the beginning of the meeting, took them, and carried them before the magiſtrate; many of the people followed, and friends alſo, to ſee the reſult. They were called into an inner room to the magiſtrate, he being indiſpoſed, two prieſts, the conſtable, and one other preſent.

The magiſtrate being moderate, adviſes to a conference

This magiſtrate, a very moderate man, aſked them ſeveral queſtions, to which they returned ſuitable anſwers; they had much diſcourſe, with which he appeared well ſatisfied; but upon one of the prieſts' putting a queſtion, John Burnyeat remarked, that if they were diſpoſed to diſcourſe on religious ſubjects, a more publick place would be beſt adapted to that purpoſe, as the people were without and deſirous to hear; which propoſal the magiſtrate ſeconded, ſaying, "Mr. "Jones and Mr. Biſhop, I deſire you to go into "the publick meeting-houſe, and diſcourſe with "theſe men before the people, for they are "ſober rational men." Upon which the friends retired, and went to the meeting-houſe, whither the prieſts followed, not without ſymptoms of being

being mortified at the diſappointment of their deſire through the moderate diſpoſition of the magiſtrate. They ſpent ſeveral hours in conference upon the wages and call of Goſpel miniſters, election and reprobation, alſo of free grace; wherein the prieſts, in contradiction to plain ſcripture teſtimony, alledged that the Grace of God had not appeared to all men. The diſcourſe John Burnyeat writes was drawn up in manuſcript, but was too copious to be inſerted in his journal. The next day they had another meeting at Greenwich, to which the prieſt came and entered into freſh debate, but failed of his principal aim, for the magiſtrate would not impriſon them, but ſuffered them to proceed on their travels without further moleſtation. CHAP. XXIII. 1672.

In the mean time George Fox, Robert Widders, &c. paſſed to Providence and Narraganſet, and thence to Long Iſland, Shelter Iſland, and thence to Shrewſbury in Eaſt Jerſey. Here they met with an incident which it may not be improper to recite, for the ſake of the ſervice it may be of in the like caſe[d]. They had in their company one John Jay, a planter in Barbadoes, who intended to accompany them through the woods to Maryland, and mounting an horſe to try him, being ill broken, it immediately ran away, and threw him on his head, and they believed his neck was broken. Thoſe who were near him took him up as dead, and carried him and laid him on a tree. George Fox got up to him as ſoon as poſſible, and feeling him, concluded he was dead. As he ſtood commiſerating him and his family, he Remarkable incident.

[d] George Fox, 446.

took

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took hold of his hair, and found that his head turned any way. He then took his head in both hands, and putting one under his chin, and the other behind his head, he raiſed it two or three times with all his ſtrength, and brought it into its place, whereby his neck recovered its uſual ſtiffneſs. He began firſt to rattle in the throat, and then to breathe, to the amazement of all preſent. Being taken into the houſe, getting ſome warm drink, and being put into a warm bed, he recovered ſo well (though he had no recollection of what had befallen him) that he continued his journey with them next day to Middletown, and ſeveral hundred miles afterwards.

They travel to Maryland through the woods.

From hence they took their journey to Maryland through the woods, having hired Indian guides. In this journey they met with equal difficulties with thoſe they had before experienced, in the like wilderneſs journey from Virginia to New England. They lodged ſometimes in the woods, ſometimes in the Indian wigwams. They had many large rivers to croſs, ſome of which they croſſed near the head, others in canoes, ſwimming their horſes by the ſides thereof. Through numerous difficulties they reached Newcaſtle in five days, where George Fox was hoſpitably entertained by the governor, and had a meeting at his houſe the next day, pretty large, moſt of the town attending it, as there had never been any meeting of that kind in this town or its vicinity before. It was refreſhing to the travellers, and ſatisfactory to the people, who in tenderneſs confeſſed to the truth of the doctrines publiſhed amongſt them.

From

From hence, by very hard travelling through the like inconvenient ways, they got to Robert Harwood's at Myles River in Maryland in three days more. In this province they had ſeveral meetings to profit, both amongſt the inhabitants, attended by many of the firſt rank, and alſo amongſt the Indians, to whom George Fox ſpoke by an interpreter. They were ſeriouſly attentive to his doctrine, and diſcovered a very affectionate reſpect to himſelf. 1672.

Soon after the general meeting for friends of the province came on, which laſted five days; the three firſt for public worſhip, which meetings were very large, comfortably edifying to friends, generally acceptable to the people, and conducive to the convincement of many; the remaining two days were applied to holding the men's and women's meetings. When the meetings were over, they took their leave of friends in theſe parts, leaving them well eſtabliſhed in the truth. General meeting.

They continued their religious labours ſome time longer in Maryland, paſſing from place to place by water in open boats, whereby they were much expoſed to wet and cold, and frequent ſtorms; but their zeal and diligence in the diſcharge of duty, and filling up their days work in honeſt endeavours to bring mankind to the knowledge of the truth, that they might be ſaved, through confidence in divine protection ſurmounted all the difficulties and dangers of the way.

When they had finiſhed their ſervice in Maryland they went to Virginia by water, and from thence by land to Carolina, through a wilderneſs

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1672.

wilderneſs abounding with bogs and ſwamps, whereby they were frequently wet to the knees, and at night were obliged to lodge by a fire in the woods. They had meetings in moſt habitable places, as they paſſed along, in all which they expreſſed their ſatisfaction in the peace they felt as the reward of their labours and travels, and in obſerving the beneficial effects thereof on the auditory, by bringing them to religious thoughtfulneſs in theſe deſolate countries, where few or none of this ſociety had travelled before, and where they had little advantage of religious fellowſhip.

Carolina.

Nor did they confine their labours within the precincts of the Engliſh government; the principle of univerſal love, which they profeſſed and cultivated, incited them to travel and labour among the Indians in the back parts of Carolina, as they had done in other provinces, endeavouring, by the help of interpreters, to ſuit their doctrine to the comprehenſions of theſe people, by whom alſo their chriſtian labours were well received, and they would own, they underſtood what was ſpoken, and that it was very good.

They viſit the Indians.

1673. They return home.

From Carolina they returned back through Virginia to Maryland, and after ſpending ſome time in that province, till the general provincial meeting, which held four days, they took their leave of friends in thoſe parts, and embarked at Potuxant for Briſtol, as John Burnyeat had done ſome time before for Galway in Ireland, on their way home.

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CHAP. XXIV.

In the Time of the Indian War in New England—William Edmundſon under impulſe of Duty travels a dangerous Journey to the Eaſtward.—Had Meetings where none of this People had been holden before, at which ſeveral were convinced.—He viſits a religious People at Reading, at the Houſe of one Gould—Where William Edmundſon's Preaching had a good Effect.—After the Indian War an epidemical Sickneſs enſues, which proves very mortal.—William Edmundſon ſeized with it, but recovers.—He embarketh for New York.—At New London endeavours to get a Meeting, but is prevented.—William Edmundſon and James Fletcher pay a Viſit to a Meeting of Baptiſts.—William Edmundſon queſtions them concerning the Sabbath, as introductory to the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry amongſt them.—Some Profeſſors of this Age fond of the Old Teſtament.—Meeting near New London broken up by Officers and armed Men.

CHAP. XXIV. 1675.

IT hath already been obſerved that William Edmundſon after viſiting Barbadoes a ſecond time in 1675, ſailed from thence for New England and landed in Rhode Iſland. This was in the height of the New England war with the Indians under the command of Philip king of the Wampanoags, which made travelling very dangerous. He ſtaid ſome meetings with friends in Rhode Iſland, which was not moleſted by the Indians,

In the time of the Indian war in New England,

CHAP. XXVI. 1675.

Indians, for the governor being one of the ſociety of the people called Quakers, the inhabitants had taken no part in the war: But on the Continent the Indians carried on the war with conſiderable ſucceſs; after their ſavage manner burning ſeveral towns and houſes, and daily murdering ſome or other of the inhabitants, ſuch as they could ſurprize or overpower. It was an uſual cuſtom with them to conceal themſelves behind the trees or among the buſhes in the woods, and ſhoot down the paſſengers before they were aware, and numbers were murdered in that manner.

William Edmundſon under impulſe of duty travels a dangerous journey to the Eaſtward.

William Edmundſon thought it his duty to travel Eaſtward to *Piſcataway*, to viſit his friends in their diſtreſs, on account of the war: This was by all eſteemed a very perilous undertaking, yet under perſuaſion of duty, and truſt in divine protection, he had the courage to undertake the journey; one friend ventured to go with him as a guide through the woods to Sandwich, where, through gracious mercy, they arrived in ſafety. Friends were greatly rejoiced at his brotherly viſit in this diſcouraging ſeaſon, and he alſo was favoured with the conſolation of inward peace in the diſcharge of duty, in faith, through difficulty and danger; he had two meetings with them, to their mutual refreſhment and comfort.

Seffenaſe. Boſton. Salem.

From thence he travelled to Seffenaſe, Boſton and Salem, and ſo to Piſcataway river and Great Iſland, viſiting his friends, and appointing meetings with them, as he paſſed along, to mutual ſatisfaction. He proceeded by boat to Nicholas Shapley's, a friend of note in the country, and from thence over the river to viſit his

his friends on that ſide, had a meeting with them on the firſt day of the week, which was very large and edifying, many came far to it, and expreſſed their thankfulneſs for that comfortable opportunity. Then he returned to Nicholas Shapley's and ſtaid ſome days, where he had a ſatisfactory public meeting, and alſo one for diſcipline. CHAP. XXIV. 1675. Nicholas Shapley's.

At this time there was a ceſſation of arms on that river; and one evening while William Edmundſon reſted at Nicholas Shapley's, fourteen able Indians came into his houſe; their heads being trimmed and faces painted for war gave them a fierce and terrible appearance. As ſome of them could ſpeak broken Engliſh, William Edmundſon endeavoured to enter into familiar converſation with them, but from the moroſeneſs of their carriage, and the fierceneſs of their countenances, he conceived they were meditating hoſtile meaſures; however they went off in the night without offering any injury. In the morning his hoſt acquainted him that he had intelligence that the Indians were deſigning to make a new incurſion, which proved true, for ſoon after accounts came of their having murdered ſeventy white people, but William did not hear of any friend being of the number.

William Edmundſon returned to Salem, and thence to Marblehead, and had ſeveral meetings in thoſe parts, both amongſt friends, and in places where none had been held before; many people reſorted to them, and ſeveral were convinced: For by reaſon of the wars which ſpread into moſt quarters of thoſe colonies, the people's minds were greatly humbled by the apprehenſions of danger to which they were expoſed, Salem. Marblehead. Meetings where none had been held before. Several convinced.

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poſed, not only of loſing their ſubſtance, but their lives alſo.

1675. Viſits a religious people at Reading at the houſe of one Gould.

Thus travelling in many places, as with his life in his hand, and hearing of a religious body of people at Reading, he felt a draft of duty to pay him a viſit, and in company with five or ſix friends more went thither, to an antient man's houſe, whoſe name was Gould, and his houſe a garriſon; for at that time moſt people, except thoſe called Quakers, were in garriſon, for fear of the incurſions of the Indians. When they came to the houſe, the gates were locked, but upon their calling they were preſently opened, and when they entered they found ſeveral aſſembled for the exerciſe of religious worſhip, to which their coming in ſeeming to give ſome interruption, William Edmundſon informed them, that they came not to diſturb them, for he loved religion, and was ſeeking religious people; upon which the maſter of the houſe deſired him to ſit down, and took the next ſeat for himſelf.

W. Edmundſon's preaching at their meeting had a good effect.

As William ſat amongſt them, he felt his heart warmed towards them in the love of the goſpel, and told them he had ſomething in his heart to declare amongſt them, if they would give him leave: The maſter of the houſe bade him ſpeak: His heart being filled with the word of life, he ſpoke in the demonſtration of the ſpirit and of power, to the awakening of their conſciences, and reaching the witneſs of God in them, to own the truth of his teſtimony: And after he had finiſhed his teſtimony, he concluded the meeting in prayer.

At the concluſion the old man, the maſter of the houſe, was ſo affected, that he roſe up, took William

William in his arms, owned what he had ſpoken to be ſound doctrine, and thanked God that he could underſtand it; adding, that he had heard, that the *people called Quakers denied the ſcriptures, and denied Chriſt that died for them*, which he underſtood to be the cauſe of the difference between their miniſters and the ſaid people; but that this day had convinced him of the falſity of the charge, as he had witneſſed that they owned both Chriſt and the ſcriptures. Although the depredation of war had made proviſions ſcarce in theſe parts, he would not part with them, until they had dined with him. Then the friends leaving theſe people impreſſed with religious deſires for themſelves and affectionate regard to their viſitors, the old man embraced William again, ſignifying, he doubted his ever ſeeing him any more.

Boſton.

He had ſeveral meetings at Boſton and parts adjacent, where he met with conſiderable exerciſe and trouble, by means of ſome perſons, who, profeſſing themſelves of the people called Quakers, did not live up to the principles of their profeſſion, which did much hurt, as adminiſtring occaſion of offence to thoſe who ſought it, and counteracting the religious labours of ſuch worthy miniſters, as in apprehenſion of duty, were concerned to leave every domeſtic comfort, and travel to remote lands, through many hardſhips and perils, to propagate righteouſneſs, and ſpread the knowledge of truth, which good work, he regretted, was obſtructed by ſuch unfaithful profeſſors.

At Rhode Iſland the inhabitants eager to arm.

Being at length clear of thoſe parts he paſſed over to Rhode-iſland in a bark belonging to Edward Wharton of Salem. Here he found friends

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friends attended with difficulties by reaſon of the wars, which raged in many places in that quarter, out of the iſland: The Indians plundering, burning and killing as they went along; which made the inhabitants of the iſland, who were not of the ſociety, eager to arm; but the governor Walter Clark, being a member thereof, could not in conſcience iſſue commiſſions to kill and deſtroy. Under their preſent trouble friends were ſtrengthened and encouraged by William Edmundſon's company, he ſtayed ſome time amongſt them, and had many edifying and comfortable meetings with them both for worſhip and diſcipline.

After the Indian war abated, an epidemical ſickneſs enſues, which proves very mortal.

During his ſtay at Rhode-iſland, the heat of the Indian war abated, King Philip being killed, and his party ſubdued; but almoſt immediately after, this iſland was viſited by an epidemical diſtemper, which proved ſo mortal, that few families therein eſcaped the loſs of ſome of their number in two or three days ſickneſs. William Edmundſon was diligently employed at this time in viſiting the families of his friends, (of whom many died) although the ſmell of the ſickneſs was loathſome, and but few eſcaped the infection; he expected himſelf to take it, frequently feeling himſelf as loaded therewith; and after ſome time he was actually ſeized with it, and obliged to take to his bed at Walter Newberry's at Newport; but, through the favour of divine providence, he was brought ſafely through, and reſtored to health, ſo that in about ten days time he was able to appear at public meetings, and although he was weak, not only by his ſickneſs, but the trouble he met with, by diſorderly walkers, who took undue liberties in their converſation

W. Edmundſon ſeized with it at Newport, but recovers.

converſation here, as well as in New England, yet he felt divine ſupport bearing him up over all. CHAP. XXIV.

From hence he took ſhipping for New York, having James Fletcher for his companion; but by contrary winds was driven back to New London, and being detained ſome days, they endeavoured to get a meeting there; but the inhabitants being rigid independents or preſbyterians, and filled with prejudice, would not ſuffer one to be held amongſt them. 1675. He paſſeth to New York. At New London endeavours to get a meeting, but prevented.

About five miles from hence dwelt a company of baptiſts, called ſeventh day baptiſts, becauſe they kept the ſeventh day of the week for their ſabbath; and bearing the character of a ſober conſcientious people, William Edmundſon felt his mind drawn to pay them a viſit, and accordingly went thither, accompanied by his companion James Fletcher, and a friendly old Engliſhman who reſided near New London. On the ſeventh day of the week, when they came thither, they found them aſſembled in ſilence; when they went in, theſe people ſeemed to be diſturbed; William gently informed them, that he and his companions had not come to diſturb their meeting, but hearing that their ſentiments in religion were different from thoſe of the generality of the people in that country, they were come to viſit them, and if they had a religion that was good, to ſhare with them. The maſter of the houſe then invited them to ſit down; they ſat ſome time in ſilence, when William feeling a divine authority to ſpeak, and that theſe people had honeſt deſires in their hearts after the knowledge of God, he began his ſervice by way of queſtion, "Why they kept W. Edmundſon and J. Fletcher viſit the ſeventh day baptiſts.

"that

CHAP. XXIV.

1675. W. Edmundſon queſtions them concerning the ſabbath, introductory to his declaration of truth.

"that day as a ſabbath?" to which they anſwered, "becauſe it was ſtrictly commanded in "the old teſtament. He next queried, "if we "were obliged to keep all the law of Moſes?" They replied, "No; but the keeping of the "ſabbath ſeemed to be required more than the "reſt of the law." From this introduction, William took occaſion to inform them, that to keep the ſabbath after the Jewiſh law under the chriſtian diſpenſation was not neceſſary, as Chriſt himſelf did many things which the Jews eſteemed a breach of the ſabbath; that Chriſt had ended the law of the old covenant, and now was himſelf the reſt of his people; and that all muſt know reſt, quietneſs and peace in him. Theſe people ſitting in ſtilneſs and quietude furniſhed him with a favourable opportunity to continue his declaration, in the authority of the goſpel, opening to them the way of life and ſalvation, and when he had done, concluded in fervent prayer; and then took leave of them under the mutual impreſſions of good will and affection.

Some profeſſors at this time too fond of the Old Teſtament.

There ſeems to have been amongſt many of the profeſſors of this age too fond an attachment to the Old Teſtament and the ceremonial law, not only in the preachers, who are ſaid to be fond of taking texts and examples from thence, but alſo in many well diſpoſed people, like thoſe abovementioned, who have been thereby prevented from making advances in real religion, ſo far as they might probably have done, if they had more generally conſidered the ceremonial parts of the law only as types and ſhadows of good things to come; and the prophecies chiefly to point forward to the benefits of the

ſpiritual

ſpiritual diſpenſation of the goſpel of Chriſt; and inſtead of reſting in the ſhadow and type, had preſſed forward after the poſſeſſion of the ſubſtance typified thereby, and the good things propheſied of. I do not mean hereby to leſſen in the leaſt degree a due regard to the Old Teſtament, as being written by holy men of old; as they were inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt: As ſuch I value and eſteem it; but the doctrines of the goſpel delivered in the New Teſtament more immediately concern us under the goſpel diſpenſation, and confirm, and are confirmed by, many parts of the old; and both together are an excellent treaſure of divine wiſdom and religious inſtruction. 1675.

Meeting near New London,

The next day, being firſt day, they appointed a meeting near New London at the houſe of the perſon, who had accompanied them in their laſt viſit, to which ſeveral of the baptiſts and other ſober people came; the meeting was very ſolidly gathered, and like to be a favoured and profitable opportunity; but the old prejudiced and perſecuting ſpirit, ſtill prevailing amongſt the bigotted ſelf-righteous profeſſors in this quarter, interrupted their ſolemnity; for a conſtable and other officers came with a body of armed men, and broke up the meeting, haling and greatly abuſing the friends, which much offended the ſober people preſent.

broken up by officers and armed men.

CHAP. XXV.

William Edmundſon conſtrained to go to New Hertford, in reſignation to divine Diſpoſal.—Goes to one of their Meeting-houſes, where he is heard with Attention.—Goes to the other Meeting-houſe in the Afternoon, whence he is taken Priſoner.—Being taken to an Inn, he diſcourſes with ſeveral Profeſſors.—John Rogers, a Baptiſt Teacher, entering into Argument with him is confuted.—William Edmundſon diſcharged.—At Long Iſland they meet with Ranters, who diſturb their Meetings.—Edward Tarff, a Ranter, oppoſeth William Edmundſon.

CHAP. XXV. 1675.

SOON after William Edmundſon firſt went aboard the ſhip, in order to paſs over to New York, he felt a weighty concern on his mind to go to New Hertford, in Connecticut colony, which lay about fifty miles up the country, through a great wilderneſs, and very dangerous to travel: The Indians, yet in arms, haunting thoſe parts, and killing many of the Engliſh; ſo that it ſeemed very diſcouraging for him, a ſtranger in the country, to encounter a journey attended with ſo much danger. He therefore kept his concern thus far to himſelf, in hopes that he might be excuſed in this time of jeopardy. That evening he went on board again, and the veſſel ſet ſail, the wind being pretty fair; but ſoon

CHAP. XXV.

1675.

ſoon turned right againſt them and blew a ſtorm, which obliged them to put into harbour, where they lay ſome days. William Edmundſon being ſtill unable to get from under his concern towards Hertford, apprehended himſelf, by his backwardneſs to obey the pointings of duty, to be the cauſe of the croſſes and detention of the veſſel; and therefore acquainting the company with his concern, he took his leave of them, ſignifying he muſt go in ſubmiſſion to the divine will, whether he ſhould live or die.

W. Edmundſon conſtrained to go to New Hertford, in reſignation to divine diſpoſal.

J. Fletcher accompanies him.

Then preparing himſelf for his journey, and his companion reſolving not to deſert him, they went aſhore, purchaſed horſes, and next morning ſet out without a guide, and travelled hard through the wilderneſs, for the greateſt part of the day, and reached an inn about four miles from the town: Here he left his companion and the horſes, and walked early next morning (being the firſt day of the week) to the town; he went in the morning to one meeting-houſe, and when the prieſt had finiſhed, he ſpoke to the people what was on his mind; they were moderate and quiet, heard with attention; and when he had done they parted. In the afternoon he went to the other meeting-houſe, for there were two large ones in the town; when he came thither, the prieſt and people were gathered, having a guard of ſoldiers, for fear of the Indians coming upon them, while they were at their worſhip. William went in, and declared the way of ſalvation amongſt them; but after ſome time, at the inſtance of the prieſt, the officers haled him out rudely, and hurt his arm, ſo that it bled, and took him to the guard, upon a hill.

Goes to one of their meeting-houſes, where he preaches, and is heard with attention.

In the afternoon goes to the other meeting-houſe, whence he is taken priſoner.

CHAP. XXV. 1675.

It was a very piercing cold day; the officer who had him in charge, complaining thereof, aſked him "how he could bear the cold?" for that he was very cold. William replied, "that "it was the entertainment, which their great "profeſſors in New England afforded to a ſtran- "ger, and yet they profeſſed the ſcriptures to "be their rule, which command to entertain "ſtrangers:" The officer ſeemed to be troubled, and endeavoured to excuſe the magiſtrates. Then he took him to an inn, and immediately the room was filled with profeſſors, with whom he had much diſcourſe: As one company went away another came. William being well qualified to diſcourſe or diſpute with them, and well verſed in the ſcriptures, was furniſhed with matter to inform the enquirers, and ſilence the diſputers. When the company in general had given up, a preacher among the baptiſts took up the argument, imputing it to the people called Quakers, as a great error to maintain, that every man had a meaſure of the ſpirit of Chriſt; he wanted to know if William held the ſame error. William told him, it was no error, for the ſcriptures teſtified it in many parts. The baptiſt denied that the world had received a meaſure of the ſpirit; but that believers had received it. And as William brought one ſcripture after another in confirmation of the univerſality of the manifeſtation of the ſpirit, he ſtill reſtricted it to *every one* of the believers, alledging that was the ground of their error, in applying that to *every man*, which properly belonged to believers. William then recollected the promiſe of our Saviour, "That he would ſend "the comforter, the ſpirit of truth, that ſhould "convince

Being taken to an inn W. Edmundſon has much diſcourſe with profeſſors.

J. Rogers, a baptiſt preacher, is confuted.

"convince the world of ſin, and ſhould guide "his diſciples into all truth." On which he argued thus; therefore thou muſt grant that all have received it; or elſe prove from ſcripture that there is a ſelect number of believers, and beſides them a world of believers that have the ſpirit; and alſo another world of unbelievers that have no meaſure of the ſpirit to convince them of ſin. This put him to a nonplus, and many ſober perſons, who ſtayed to ſee the iſſue, gave it againſt him, ſaying, "Indeed, Mr. Rogers, the man is in the right, "for you muſt bring the proof, which he hath "demanded, or grant his argument." Then the people departed well ſatisfied.

As they lodged that night at the ſame inn, William took the opportunity of a friendly conference with this man; and finding by his diſcourſe, that he alſo had ſuffered ſome perſecution from the rigid preſbyterians or independents of that quarter, he remonſtrated to him, how ungenerous it was in him to join with them in oppoſing him, who was a ſtranger and ſingle, engaged againſt a multitude; to which he made no reply directly; but gave him an account of himſelf, whereby it appears, this John Rogers had been a member of one of the independent congregations, but was now a paſtor of thoſe ſeventh-day people, to whom William had lately paid a religious viſit.

W. Edmundſon diſcharged.

In the morning William Edmundſon ſent to the officer who had him in charge the day before, to know whether he had any further buſineſs with him, who ſent him back word that he might go when and whither he pleaſed; upon which he returned to the place, where he had left his horſe and his companion. In the mean

CHAP. XXV. 1675.

mean time his companion, uneaſy at his ſtay, had gone to Hertford by a different way to look for him, whereby they miſſed of one another. At Hertford James Fletcher hearing of his return followed him, and upon their meeting told him he had ſet all the town talking of religion.

Long Iſland.

From hence they went to Long Iſland, where they were gladly received by friends; but were much diſturbed by a ſet of ranters, who had ariſen in theſe parts, and made it a practice to come into friends meetings, ſinging and dancing in a frantick manner, to the great annoyance of their religious aſſemblies. Notwithſtanding which they had ſeveral large and comfortable meetings; many of theſe ranters, preſent in ſome of them, appeared to be chained down by the divine power covering theſe awful ſolemnities, and attending the teſtimonies delivered therein; whereby ſome of them were brought to a ſenſe of their errors, and under the perception thereof to condemn themſelves for their licentious and indecent conduct.

They meet with ranters, who diſturb their meetings.

East Jerſey.

Proceeding to Eaſt Jerſey, they had meetings at Shrewſbury, and at Richard Hartſhorn's, full and large and edifying. In this laſt they were diſturbed again with thoſe deluded people, particularly by one Edward Tarff, who came into the meeting with his face blackened, ſaying, it was his juſtification and ſanctification; he ſung and danced after their wild manner, and coming up to William Edmundſon, called him *old rotten prieſt*. William told him he was *mad*, and that made him fret, and looking at him in the authority with which he was veſted, dared him to look him in the face for half an hour, where-

E. Tarff, a ranter, oppoſeth W. Edmundſon.

with

with being ſmitten and daunted he went away. William ſtood up, in the power of the goſpel, and appealed to the meeting, whether this was not the ſame power of God, in which he came among them at firſt, unto which they were directed, and whereby they were convinced of truth. Shewing them that the ranters, by departing from this divine power, were deceived by a transformed ſpirit, and given up to ſtrong deluſions. It proved an edifying meeting; the people were affected with tenderneſs, and friends ſtrengthened and edified together.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

An Indian Guide loſeth his way in the Woods, and guided them wrong.—Richard Hartſhorn adviſeth their turning back to Rariton, and they diſcover the Path to Delaware.—At Delaware Town under difficulty to get Entertainment.—William Edmundſon loſeth the Uſe of his Limbs by the Cold in Virginia and the Bay of Cheſapeak.—An Indian War and a Civil War in Virginia at the ſame Time.—William Edmundſon hath Carolina in proſpect.—His Friends diſſuade him from the Journey, as being very dangerous.—But being confirmed in the Apprehenſion of Duty calling him, he undertakes the Journey.—Arrives there in ſafety.—And returns to Virginia in like Manner.—And from thence embarks for England.

CHAP. XXVI.

1676.

An Indian guide loſeth his way in the woods.

FROM Eaſt Jerſey William Edmundſon and his companion took their journey through the wilderneſs towards Maryland, with an Indian for their guide, who loſt his way and left them in the woods, where they were obliged to take up their lodging that night. And next morning being entirely at a loſs to find their way in the wilderneſs, to which they were ſtrangers, Richard Hartſhorn, who with Eliakim Wardel had accompanied them thus far, propoſed their turning back to Rariton river, which they had left about

about ten miles behind them, to find out a landing place from New York, from which a ſmall path led to Delaware Falls. This plan ſucceeded; by travelling all that day, and taking up another night's lodging in the woods, they reached the falls pretty timely next morning, where providentially they found an Indian man and woman with a canoe, whom they hired to ſet them over the river. They paſſed over, after the cuſtomary manner of that time, by ſwimming their horſes by the ſide of the canoe, and got ſafely to ſhore. They proceeded to Uplands (ſince called Cheſter) and to Delaware town, which at that time was under New York government; for Penſylvania was a name as yet unknown. At Delaware town they were under difficulty to get entertainment amongſt the Dutch and Swedes, who inhabited it, until William Edmundſon applied to the deputy governor, informing him that they were travellers, and had money to pay for what they called for, but could not get lodgings for their money. The governor received them with much courteouſneſs, went with them to an ordinary, and ordered the landlord to provide them lodging, which was both mean and dear; but the governor was ſo kind as to deſire them to ſend to him for any thing they wanted.

CHAP. XXVI.

1676. Delaware Falls.

At Delaware town under difficulty to get entertainment.

William Edmundſon continued his travels and miniſterial labours (as in his former viſit) to Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, appointing meetings in all convenient places, and attending the meetings of his friends, wherever they were ſettled, which were often very ſatisfactory and profitable, both the public meetings for worſhip,

CHAP. XXVI.

ſhip, and thoſe for managing the diſcipline of the church.

1676. In Virginia and the bay of Cheſapeak the cold weather affects W. Edmundſon to the loſs of the uſe of his limbs.

While in Virginia, and paſſing the bay of Cheſapeak, the weather was ſo cold and ſtormy, that, for want of fire or covering (being in an open boat) he in a great meaſure loſt the uſe of his limbs for a ſeaſon; ſo that when he came aſhore he could neither ſtand nor walk without the ſupport of two men on each ſide; and in like manner was he taken again to the boat.

An Indian war, and alſo a civil war in Virginia.

It was alſo a time of trouble and danger in this province, they being at once engaged in a war with the Indians, and in a civil war amongſt themſelves. A young man, named Bacon, availing himſelf of ſome diſcontents among the people, on account of reſtraints on trade, by his popular declamations, gained that aſcendency amongſt them, that they choſe him for for their general againſt Sir William Berkley, governor of the province.

In this conteſt the country was generally involved, except thoſe of the ſociety of the people called Quakers, who in conformity to their principles took no active part in the quarrel. And William Edmundſon's preſence at ſuch a ſeaſon amongſt them, contributed, no doubt, to ſtrengthen them in a ſteady adherence to their pacific principles. He travelled for a conſiderable time from place to place, until ſome frigates came from England with troops to quell the diſturbances, which with the death of their leader, terminated the civil commotions; but the Indians continued their incurſions ſome time longer.

W. Edmundſon hath Carolina in view.

When he apprehended his ſervice finiſhed in Virginia he had Carolina in proſpect before his return to his native land; but this proſpect was

was attended with great diſcouragement, the Indians being ſtill out in arms, and committing frequent murders, and particularly frequenting that wilderneſs, through which his road to Carolina lay, where very few durſt travel unarmed. His friends uſed their endeavours to diſſuade him from undertaking ſo hazardous a journey, where (by their accounts) ſeveral people had been murdered. He was naturally a man not eaſily intimidated, yet having a tenderneſs for the reputation of truth more than his own life, he began to conſider, that if he ſhould fall by the hands of the ſavages, it might furniſh occaſion to ſuch as ſought occaſion, to depreciate the principle of truth which he profeſſed, and his friends alſo, as being under the guidance of a principle of action deluſive in its nature, and leading them preſumptuouſly into error and danger, to the loſs of their lives: For this reaſon he endeavoured to protract his ſetting out, in hopes the concern might be taken from him. In the mean time he appointed a meeting on the north ſide of James River, to which many friends came a great way, and amongſt others the eldeſt ſon of the widow Houtland, at whoſe houſe William had lodged, with whom he took a walk the evening before the meeting, to give him ſome friendly advice: They parted to their reſpective lodgings in uſual health, and a meſſenger came before morning to tell William, *the young man was dead.*

CHAP. XXVI. 1676.

His friends diſſuade him from going thither, being a journey full of danger.

This news was an affecting ſurprize to his friends, but particularly to William Edmundſon, who with it ſeemed to hear a language in his ſoul, which he took to be a divine warning, expreſſing itſelf to this purport: All lives are

W. Edmundſon confirmed in his apprehenſion of duty to viſit Carolina.

CHAP. XXVI. 1676.

are in my hand, and if thou go not to Carolina, thy life is as this young man's; but if thou go, I will give thee thy life for a prey. Thus powerfully impreſſed with the inward ſenſe of duty calling him to the performance of the journey, the next day he began to prepare for it, but none durſt venture to accompany him, except one ancient friend. In his company he traverſed the wilderneſs, and through the merciful protection of that divine hand in which he truſted, in two days reached Carolina in ſafety; here he had ſeveral conſolatory meetings. The people at this time being widely ſcattered in this colony, having little or no benefit of miniſtry amongſt them, received William with gladneſs and affection; and ſeveral were convinced by his labours. Friends being ſettled in the diſcipline and good order of their profeſſion, he left them edified by his religious ſervice amongſt them, and departed under the comfortable ſenſe of their proſperity in the beſt things, and of peace in his own boſom, reſulting from his purſuing the line of duty without being deterred by impending danger, truſting his life to the hands of him who gave it, and who he knew had power to preſerve it. In the like religious confidence in divine preſervation he returned ſafe to Virginia, and from thence to England, with the view of attending the enſuing yearly meeting at London, which he reached in due time.

Arrives there in ſafety.

and returns in like manner back to Virginia, and thence embarks for England.

From theſe accounts it appears that ſundry members of this ſociety had removed to or been convinced in ſeveral of the Weſt Indian iſlands, alſo in New England, Rhode Iſland, Long Iſland and New York, and that the number

number in theſe parts were ſufficiently numerous to conſtitute a regular yearly or half yearly meeting in Rhode Iſland, for the ſaid iſland and the province of New England; and in Long Iſland for New York; alſo in Maryland, Virginia and Carolina we find ſundry meetings were ſettled; and in the two former men's and women's meetings were eſtabliſhed for preſerving good order in the ſociety. CHAP. XXVI. 1677.

CHAP. XXVII.

Settlement in Weſt Jerſey.—Friends hold their Meetings at firſt in a Tent.—Afterwards at the Houſe of John Woolſton.—They eſtabliſh a Monthly Meeting at Burlington.—Commence a Correſpondence with the yearly Meeting of London.—Several Friends from Dublin and its Neighbourhood remove thither.—George Fox writes an Epiſtle of Advice to the new Settlers.—Yearly Meeting eſtabliſhed at Burlington.

BEFORE and about this time ſeveral friends had arrived in Weſt Jerſey, and the Indians were very kind and hoſpitable, both by ſupplying them with proviſions on moderate terms, and otherwiſe aſſiſting them, ſo that they were not very long there till they found their new ſettlement tolerably eaſy. CHAP. XXVII. 1678. Several friends ſettled in Weſt Jerſey.

One

CHAP. XXVII.

1678. They hold their meetings at first in a tent.

One of their first cares was to accommodate themselves with a place for religious worship. At first they built a tent at Burlington, where they assembled regularly at stated times, until John Woolston had got his house (the first framed house in Burlington) completed; then they met there, both for worship and discipline, for near three years, when they removed their meeting to Thomas Gardiner's, where it continued to be held during his life and that of his widow, till a meeting-house was built there. Soon after they established a regular monthly meeting for business, after the manner of the country from whence they had removed, the first care of which was to make provision for their poor; the next, to discourage all friends from being concerned in selling spirituous liquors to the Indians. In the year 1680 friends of the said monthly meeting of Burlington commenced a correspondence with the yearly meeting of London. The purport of their first epistle was to request friends of the yearly meeting to recommend it to the several counties and meetings, out of which any of their members might incline to remove to these parts, to take care to supply them with certificates of their orderly conversation, right of membership, and clearness from marriage engagements, if single and marriageable, that friends here might not be at a loss in what light to receive them, coming strangers amongst them; which request being agreeable to the discipline established in like cases, procured a minute of said meeting, recommending to friends a compliance therewith.

They commence a correspondence with the yearly meeting of London.

A consi-

CHAP. XXVII.

1681.

A conſiderable number of friends of Dublin and its vicinity being inclined in 1681 to remove from thence into the province of Weſt Jerſey, wherein ſeveral of them had before purchaſed an intereſt, ſent to London and chartered a veſſel, whereof Thomas Lurting*, noted for his deliverance from the Turks, was maſter,

Several friends from Dublin and its neighbourhood remove to Weſt Jerſey.

* This man being brought up to the ſea, was convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers by means of one of the ſaid people, who was likewiſe a mariner on board a man of war. After which he was repeatedly preſſed into ſhips of war, and in danger of ſuffering for refuſing to fight, but he kept ſteady to his principles. Afterwards being mate to George Pattiſon, a friend, as they were paſſing through the Mediterranean, in their return from Venice, they were chaſed and taken by an Algerine Pirate, and thirteen Turks put on board to take the ſhip and priſoners to Algiers; but by the management of this Thomas Lurting the ſhip was re-taken, without violating his peaceable principles, in the following manner: The weather growing ſtormy, ſeparated them from the man of war, and a night or two after, it raining hard, he perſuaded all the Turks, one after another, to go down into the cabins and ſleep; and while they were all aſleep, he got poſſeſſion of their arms, which when he had done, he told the ſailors, "Now "we have the Turks at our command, no man ſhall hurt "any of them, for if you do I will be againſt you." Then they put before the wind for Majorca, and next morning they were near it, which when the Algerines underſtood, they were in great affliction and terror, and begged that they might not be ſold to the Spaniards, which it was promiſed they ſhould not, and the promiſe was made good; for it being reported on ſhore, by an Engliſh Captain who wanted to have two or three of them in his poſſeſſion, that there were ſeveral Turks priſoners aboard their Veſſel, the Spaniards, they heard, threatened to take them away; to prevent which, calling the Turks to their aſſiſtance, they quickly got out to ſea. Afterwards they ſailed to the coaſt of Barbary, where the mate undertook to put them aſhore in their own country; and after ſome time of conſideration how

CHAP. XXVII. 1681.

ter, who accordingly ſailed to Dublin to take them in, but being taken ſick there, he could not proceed: His mate therefore taking his place, in about eight weeks after their departure from Dublin landed them at Elſingburgh near Salem, where ſome of them ſettled amongſt their former acquaintance, who had removed before them, and whoſe induſtry had provided an ample ſupply of proviſions for their accommodation. There was then a conſiderable number of friends at Salem, and a meeting-houſe built; and ſeveral of the houſes in that town being unoccupied, by means of the owners having removed further into the country, thoſe who had families were readily accommodated with habitations for the preſent. After ſome time ſeveral of them took up their land, and fixed at a place called Newton Creek, where they raiſed temporary habitations adjacent to each other, for fear of the Indians, of whom their fears and jealouſies ſubſided, as they became better acquainted with them: Then finding it inconvenient to be ſeated ſo near together, they divided their lands, and removed to their reſpective plantations; and notwithſtanding the land had been purchaſed by the Commiſſioners of the Indians, they gave them a compenſation to

how it might be done in ſafety, he took them, with the help of ſome of the men, in the boat, ſo near the ſhore that they might wade to it, which at his deſire they readily did; and becauſe they ſaid they were four miles from any town, he gave them ſome bread and other neceſſaries. Then putting the boat cloſer in, they threw them their arms on ſhore, and put off to return to their ſhip. Thus manifeſting in deeds their obedience to the precepts of our Saviour—Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you.

to remove off. The Indians were very friendly and ſerviceable to them in ſeveral reſpects, often ſupplying them with veniſon and corn, till they could reap the fruits of their own labours, which, with the ſupply they received from Salem, prevented them from ſuffering much hardſhip in their new ſettlement. In the ſpring they ſettled a meeting at the houſe of Mark Newby, and in two years afterwards they built a meeting-houſe at Newtown. Sundry friends having ſettled, ſome by the river's ſide, ſome beyond Cooper's Creek, and ſome at Woodberry Creek, with the concurrence of Burlington friends they eſtabliſhed a monthly meeting for diſcipline, to preſerve their members orderly in converſation, and for the other good purpoſes of ſuch meetings; and ſome time after, they and friends at Salem encreaſing in number, compoſed together one quarterly meeting.

G. Fox writes an epiſtle of advice to the new ſettlers.

In the latter end of this year George Fox wrote an epiſtle of ſalutary advice to the new ſettlers, and thoſe who were propoſing to remove to the plantations in America; in particular, to cultivate a good underſtanding with the Indians, and by all means in their power to bring them to the knowledge of true religion, to invite them to their meetings, and hold meetings amongſt them, that truth and righteouſneſs might ſpread; and that friends, by an upright, peaceable and honeſt converſation, might be a light to the nations around them, wherever their lots might be caſt.

The monthly meeting of friends in Burlington was ſtill held at the houſe of John Woolſton, and conſiſted of friends reſiding about the

CHAP. XXVII. 1681.

Falls of Delaware, and thoſe of the meetings of Rankokas and Schackamaxon, who were now grown numerous. In conſideration whereof friends at the ſaid monthly meeting, held the 2d of the 3d month this year, concluding that a yearly meeting might be of general ſervice, unanimouſly agreed to eſtabliſh one in Burlington, the firſt of which was to begin the 28th of 6th month following, which accordingly met at the houſe of Thomas Gardiner. On the 31ſt they proceeded to buſineſs, and particularly to regulate the holding of the different meetings of worſhip and diſcipline, by appointing the times and places when and where each particular meeting through the country ſhould be held; among which a general meeting for worſhip was agreed to be held yearly at Salem, on the firſt day of the 2d month.

Yearly meeting eſtabliſhed at Burlington.

Having now traced the ſettlement of friends in the various inhabited parts of this continent from ſuch authentic records as I have had the opportunity of conſulting, the time calls our attention to the planting of a new colony, wherein this ſociety have become more numerous, and more conſpicuous than in any other, or perhaps in all the reſt together.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

PENSYLVANIA.

Penſylvania granted by the Crown to William Penn.—Of which he is made Governor and abſolute Proprietor.—William Penn publiſhes a Deſcription of the Country, and encouraging Terms of Settlement.—He takes Shipping for his Province.—And at his Arrival is received with Joy and Affection.—His Treaty with the Indians.—Kindneſs of the Indians to the new Settlers.—Liberty of Conſcience the leading Article of the Conſtitution.—Firſt general Aſſembly.

CHAP. XXVIII.

1681. Penſylvania granted to William Penn,

SIR William Penn, who had been long employed in the ſtation of admiral, both under Oliver Cromwell and King Charles the Second, at his death had a conſiderable debt due to him from the crown, either for arrears or for advances made to government in the ſundry expeditions in which he was engaged. The King in lieu of pecuniary ſatisfaction, by letters patent, bearing date the 4th of the month called March, 1680-1, granted to William Penn, ſon of the admiral, and his heirs, that province lying on the weſt of the river Delaware, North America, formerly poſſeſſed by the Dutch, being a part of that tract denominated by them The New Netherlands; but now the name was changed by the King to that of Penſylvania, in honour of William Penn, whom and his heirs he made governors and abſolute proprietors thereof. This peculiar fa-

of which he is made governor and abſolute proprietor.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1681.

vour of the king is ſuppoſed to be principally owing to the influence of the Duke of York, with whom, as high admiral of England, admiral Penn had been a peculiar favourite, who conſidering his ſon expoſed to the danger of ſuffering for his religious principles, had demonſtrated his paternal affection by ſoliciting the duke's protection of him, which he promiſed, and in general afforded.

W. Penn publiſhes an account of the country, with encouraging offers to ſettle there.

William Penn ſoon after publiſhed an account of Penſylvania, with the king's patent, and other papers relating thereto, deſcribing the country and its produce, and offering an eaſy purchaſe of lands, and encouraging terms of ſettlement to ſuch as might incline to remove thither. Many ſingle perſons and ſome families from England and Wales accepted the invitation, eſpecially from North Wales an hardy race of men went over, well adapted to encounter the difficulties of cultivating a new colony, having been inured to hard labour for a ſcanty ſubſiſtence from the barren mountains of their native country. With ſingular application and induſtry they ſurmounted the inconveniences generally attendant upon ſettling in a wilderneſs, ſoon cleared their purchaſed lands, and improved their reſpective plantations to advantage. And to ſecure the friendſhip of the natives to the new colony (who in ſome other provinces having been injuriouſly treated had revenged themſelves to the loſs of many lives) the governor gave order to uſe them with the utmoſt candour and humanity, appointed commiſſioners to treat with them about land, and to confirm a league of peace, by whom he alſo addreſſed the following letter:

"London,

" London, the 18th of the 8th month, 1681. CHAP. XXVIII.

" My Friends, 1681.

" There is a Great God and Power, that " hath made the world and all things therein, " to whom you and I and all people owe their " being and well-being; and to whom you and " I muſt one day give an account for all that " we do in the world: this Great God hath " written his Law in our hearts, by which we " are taught and commanded to love and help, " and do good to one another, and not to do " harm and miſchief unto one another: now " this Great God hath been pleaſed to make me " concerned in your part of the world, and the " king of the country where I live hath given " me a great province therein; but I deſire to " enjoy it with your love and conſent, that we " may always live together as neighbours and " friends; elſe what would the Great God do " to us? who hath made us not to devour and " deſtroy one another, but to live ſoberly and " kindly together in the world. Now I would " have you well obſerve, that I am very ſenſible " of the unkindneſs and injuſtice that hath " been too much exerciſed towards you by the " people of theſe parts of the world, who have " ſought themſelves, and to make great advan- " tages by you, rather than to be examples of " juſtice and goodneſs unto you, which I hear " hath been matter of trouble unto you, and " cauſed great grudgings and animoſities, ſome- " times to the ſhedding of blood, which hath

" made

CHAP. XXVIII. 1681.

" made the Great God angry. But I am not " ſuch a man, as is well known in my own " country: I have great love and regard to- " wards you, and I deſire to win and gain your " love and friendſhip by a kind, juſt, and peace- " able life, and the people I ſend are of the " ſame mind, and ſhall in all things behave " themſelves accordingly; and if in any thing " any ſhall offend you, or your people, you ſhall " have a full and ſpeedy ſatisfaction for the " ſame, by an equal number of juſt men on " both ſides, that by no means you may have juſt " occaſion of being offended againſt them. I " ſhall ſhortly come to you myſelf, at what time " we may more largely and freely confer and " diſcourſe of theſe matters; in the mean time " I have ſent my commiſſioners to treat with " you about land, and a firm league of peace: " let me deſire you to be kind to them and the " people, and receive theſe preſents and tokens " which I have ſent you, as a teſtimony of my " good-will to you, and my reſolution to live " juſtly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

" I am your loving friend,

" W. PENN."

W. Penn takes ſhipping for his province.

In the ſummer of 1682, William Penn himſelf took ſhipping for this province, in order to take poſſeſſion and eſtabliſh the conſtitution and government thereof, being accompanied by many of his friends, who, from the proſpect of enjoying their civil and religious liberties, without the moleſtation they were expoſed to

in

in England, were induced to remove themſelves, to ſettle under the government of a man with whoſe humanity, liberality of ſentiment, and religious regard to juſtice and equity they were well acquainted [a]. CHAP. XXVIII. 1682.

In about two months they finiſhed their voyage, during which William Penn manifeſted a fatherly concern for his people's welfare and accommodation in every reſpect, edifying them by his good converſation, holding religious meetings with them regularly during their paſſage, and therein labouring to eſtabliſh them in virtue and righteouſneſs, as the ſure foundation of ſucceſs and proſperity in their undertakings in this life, as well as felicity in that which is to come: And the ſmall pox breaking out amongſt them, his tender care was further evidenced by his compaſſionate attention to the ſick, in contributing every neceſſary relief and aſſiſtance in his power. Out of the company about thirty died.

When they had entered the Delaware, and were ſailing up that river, the inhabitants, as well Dutch and Swedes as Engliſh, met and congratulated William Penn on his arrival, and received him with demonſtrations of much joy and affection. He landed at Newcaſtle, and next day ſummoned the people to the court-houſe and made a ſpeech, declaring the purpoſe of his coming and the ends of his government, aſſuring them of the free enjoyment of liberty of conſcience and civil freedom, recommending them to live in ſobriety and peace one with another; previous whereto poſſeſſion of the

He is received with demonſtrations of joy and affection.

[a] R. Townſend's narrative.

country,

CHAP. XXVIII. 1682.

country was legally given him. But William Penn's religious principles leading to the practice of the moſt ſcrupulous morality in point of juſtice and equity, did not permit him to look upon the king's patent, or the legal poſſeſſion according to the laws of England, ſufficient to eſtabliſh his right to this country, without purchaſing it from the natives, to whom by right of poſſeſſion it properly belonged [b]: He entered into and confirmed a treaty with them for this purpoſe, whereby they, for a valuable conſideration in purchaſe, freely ceded to him and his heirs the lands in queſtion, which gave a ſecurity to the planters in this colony, beyond that which thoſe of the other provinces had obtained by much bloodſhed. And the teſtimony of a late author [c] concerning this treaty is very honourable to both the contracting parties, that "it is the only treaty "between thoſe people and the Chriſtians that "was not ratified by an oath, and was never "infringed."

His treaty with the Indians.

Kindneſs of the Indians to the new ſettlers.

This friendly and pacific manner of treating the Indians begat in them an extraordinary affection and regard to him and his people, ſuch, that they maintained a perfect amity with the Engliſh of Penſylvania, and revered the memory of William Penn long after his deceaſe, and ſtill continue to hold it in great eſteem.

This amicable diſpoſition of the natives [d] was of very great ſervice to the new planters, who at their arrival found the country a mere wilderneſs, chiefly inhabited by Indians, with a

[b] W. Penn's life. [c] Voltaire.

[d] R. Townſend.

few

few Swedes thinly ſcattered, who received and treated them with particular kindneſs and hoſpitality, ſo that notwithſtanding the number of theſe new coloniſts was conſiderable, they were by the goodneſs of Providence furniſhed with the neceſſary ſupply of proviſions, partly by the Swedes and Indians, who brought them abundance of veniſon and corn at very reaſonable rates, and partly by importation from the neighbouring provinces which were ſettled before. CHAP. XXVIII. 1682.

William Penn having thus conciliated the affections of the Indians to his colony, his paternal care and humanity was next applied to lay a laſting foundation for the peace and happineſs of his people among themſelves, by eſtabliſhing a conſtitution of government and a body of laws, calculated to ſecure their religious and civil liberties, and the free and full enjoyment of their property on the firmeſt baſis: Ever an advocate for a full toleration of religion, he eſtabliſhed it in the firſt place on the broadeſt bottom, the leading article of the new conſtitution being this:

Fundamental article of the conſtitution, liberty of conſcience.

"That all perſons living in this province, "who confeſs and acknowledge the one Al- "mighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, "Upholder and Ruler of the world, and that "hold themſelves obliged in conſcience to live "peaceably and juſtly in civil ſociety, ſhall in "no wiſe be moleſted or prejudiced for their "religious perſuaſion or practice in matters of "faith and worſhip; nor ſhall they be com- "pelled at any time to frequent or maintain "any religious worſhip, place, or miniſtry "whatſoever."

In

CHAP. XXVIII.

1682. First general assembly.

In the tenth month following a general assembly of the freeholders was held at Chester, by which Newcastle was annexed to Pensylvania; the foreigners there inhabiting were naturalized; and William Penn having agreed, in concert with the adventurers, previous to their departure from England, upon the frame of government, and the laws to be established in the province, (drawn up by himself) the same, with some amendments and alterations, were now confirmed, ratified and passed into acts of assembly, as the established laws of the colony. The proceedings of this assembly were conducted with mutual affection and remarkable unanimity; nor is it wonderful that they should, as no occasion of jealousy could possibly arise between a governor, whose extraordinary disinterestedness centered his views chiefly in the ease and prosperity of his people, and an assembly who placed an implicit confidence in the approved veracity and equity of their ruler. William Penn's own account, in a letter to the committee in London of traders to this province in the fall of the succeeding year, gives an amiable picture of the harmony subsisting between him and the assembly, and in the assembly among themselves, viz. * "Two general assemblies "have been held, and with such concord and

Unanimity of the assembly.

* The following is Abbé Raynal's reflection upon the state of Pensylvania at this time: "Here it is that the mind rests "with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind "of compensation for the disgust, horror or melancholy "which the whole of it, but particularly the European set-"tlements in America, inspires."

dispatch

" diſpatch, that they ſat but three weeks, and " at leaſt ſeventy laws were paſſed without one " diſſent in any material thing. [e]I cannot for- " get their ſingular reſpect to me in this in- " fancy of the ſtate, who at their own private " expenſe ſo early conſidered mine for the pub- " lic, as to preſent me with an impoſt on " certain goods imported and exported, which " after my acknowledgment of their affection " I did as freely remit to the province and the " traders to it."

CHAP. XXVIII. 1682.

Conſtitution and government.

The conſtitution and laws being fixed and eſtabliſhed by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people's repreſentatives in an unbiaſſed aſſembly; in order to preſerve the future aſſemblies equally free and uncorrupt; it was ordained that elections ſhould be annual, and the votes given by ballot; that the voices of the electors might be given of free choice, without the poſſibility of being detected, in order to remove every opportunity of undue influence. [f]William Penn's next care was to eſtabliſh magiſtrates and tribunals in every * county with proper officers, &c. where the courts were held every two months for the executing of the laws, the adminiſtration of juſtice, and preſervation of property. But in order to prevent the expenſe and vexation of lawſuits as much as poſſible, which in other ſtates, through the management of the practitioners, are generally a gulf that ſwallows up the

Courts of law.

[e] Penn's works, fo. p. 612.
[f] Raynal, William Penn, Guthrie.

* The planted part of the province at this time was divided into ſix counties, Philadelphia, Bucks, Cheſter, Newcaſtle, Kent and Suſſex.

property

CHAP. XXVIII.

1682. Arbitrators to be appointed by every county court.

property they ſhould defend, and are a grievance inſtead of protection; he ordained that three arbitrators ſhould be appointed by every county court to hear and end differences between their neighbours in an amicable, impartial and unexpenſive way. And judging it more eligible to prevent crimes than to puniſh them, his laws were directed to put a ſtop to them in their very ſources, poverty and idleneſs: It was enacted, that every child of twelve years old ſhould be obliged to learn ſome trade or profeſſion, whatever his condition might be. No claſs of his people eſcaped the attention of his ſpirit of univerſal benevolence, which incited him to patronize and aſſiſt them all, and eſpecially thoſe who ſtood moſt in need of aſſiſtance. He inſtituted a particular and diſtinct court in each county, called the orphan's court, to meet twice a year, for the purpoſe of inſpecting and regulating the affairs of orphans and widows, and affording them its patronage and protection.

Orphan's court.

Such inſtitutions, evidently calculated for the happineſs and proſperity of mankind, quickly drew numbers of freſh adventurers from different parts to participate in the advantages of this juſt and equal government, ſo that its progreſs in cultivation and population was rapid, almoſt beyond example. "Penſylvania," ſays Raynal, "without either wars, or conqueſts, or "ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions which "attract the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon became "an object fit to excite the admiration of the "whole univerſe. Its neighbours, notwith-"ſtanding their ſavage ſtate, were ſoftened by "the ſweetneſs of its manners; and diſtant na-

"tions,

" tions, notwithſtanding their corruption, paid " homage to its virtues." CHAP. XXVIII.

Perhaps it may be thought I have digreſſed too far, and am making a tranſition to a political hiſtory by dwelling too long on this ſubject: The humane mind muſt delight to dwell with ſatisfaction on a ſubject which is both honourable and beneficial to humanity; nor is it foreign to my purpoſe to delineate examples of virtue in public or private life; in the latter it promotes the happineſs of the individual, but in the former that of the community at large; and it is to be regretted, the ſtate of mankind, even of the profeſſors of chriſtianity, is ſuch, that hiſtory in general preſents us with too few ſuch worthy public-ſpirited characters. 1682.

William Penn's legiſlation is generally admired, while the religion which he profeſſed is too generally treated with contempt; and yet it appears to me, that this deſpiſed religion chiefly contributed to the formation of the excellent legiſlator. His natural and acquired abilities were very conſiderable, his underſtanding clear and his judgment ſound; yet in theſe qualifications, it is not to be doubted, many politicians have equalled or ſurpaſſed him; but having been induced, in purſuit of truth, and peace of mind, to diſregard the opinion of the world, and attach himſelf to a body of people deſpiſed and ridiculed by it, becauſe he thought he found the eſſence of pure religion in doctrine and practice maintained amongſt them, he gradually experienced his heart regulated, and all the irregularity of the paſſions and affections, which produce diſorder and diſcord, ſubdued by the power

CHAP. XXVIII. 1682.

power of this inward principle, which convinceth of evil; and being illuminated thereby to keep in view an higher object than the praiſe of men or worldly ſplendor, I believe his principal aim was in all his actions and proceedings to ſtand approved of his Maker, and to act in all reſpects as in his ſight. In this refined ſtate of mind, avarice, ambition, arrogance and wrath, (thoſe corrupt ſources of human action) have no influence or dominion over the man; but conſidering himſelf as the miniſter of God for good, his integrity, juſtice and benevolence are only bounded by the extent of his power to do good; and the ſuperior advantages in the conſtitution of the government of William Penn ſeem to reſult from this, that whilſt moſt others eſtabliſh a religion conformable to human prudence or to the maxims of their policy, he made religion the rule and baſis of his political regulations.

Furthermore, from the analogy between ſeveral of the inſtitutions of his government and thoſe of the diſcipline of his friends, it appears that his religious profeſſion influenced him in his legiſlative capacity; their firſt concern being to take care of the poor, of widows and orphans, to diſcourage vice and immorality, to prohibit lawſuits amongſt themſelves, and to diſcountenance their members in going to law unneceſſarily with others, to promote peace and prevent differences as far as in their power; and if any ariſe amongſt them relating to matters of property, they are not to go to law, but refer the differences to arbitrators indifferently choſen or appointed from amongſt themſelves.

The

The purity of his religion is further manifeſted herein, that in the greateſt honour of his public ſtation he retained the meekneſs and humility of the private Chriſtian, and that he looked upon his acquiſition of this province chiefly as a gift of Divine Providence placing him in a capacity to promote the preſent and future happineſs of many people, and that he directed his power to theſe beneficial purpoſes more than to the advancement of himſelf or his family in wealth or grandeur, as is apparent from the following lines addreſſed by him about this time to a perſon who had made ſome invidious and unmerited reflections upon him: 1682.

" My OLD FRIEND,

——— " I could ſpeak largely of God's " dealings with me in getting this thing: what " an inward exerciſe of faith and patience it " coſt me in paſſing. The travail was mine, " as well as the debt and coſt, through the " envy of many, both profeſſors, falſe friends, " and profane: My GOD hath given it me in " the face of the world, and it is to hold it in " true judgment, as a reward of my ſufferings; " and that is ſeen here, whatever ſome deſpiſers " may ſay or think: the place God hath given " me, and I never felt judgment for the power " I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. " It is MORE than a worldly title or patent that " hath clothed me in this place. —Keep thy " place: I am in mine, and have ſerved the " God of the whole earth ſince I have been in " it:

CHAP. XXVIII. 1682.

" it: nor am I ſitting down in a greatneſs that
" I have denied.—I am day and night ſpending
" my life, my time, my money, and am not
" ſix-pence enriched by this greatneſs: coſts in
" getting, ſettling, tranſportation, and main-
" tenance, now in a public manner at my own
" charge duly conſidered; to ſay nothing of my
" hazard, and the diſtance I am at from a con-
" ſiderable eſtate, and, which is more, my dear
" wife and poor children.

" Well!—the Lord is a God of righteous
" judgment. Had I ſought greatneſs I had
" ſtayed at home, where the difference between
" what I am here, and was offered and could
" have been there, in power and wealth, is as
" wide as the places are: No, I came for the
" Lord's ſake, and therefore have I ſtood to
" this day, well and diligent and ſucceſsful,
" bleſſed be his power.—Nor ſhall I trouble my-
" ſelf to tell thee what I am to the people of
" this place, in travails, watchings, ſpendings,
" and my ſervants every way, freely, (not like
" a ſelfiſh man) I have many witneſſes. To
" conclude, it is now in friends hands; through
" my travail, faith and patience it came.* *If*
" *friends here keep to God, and in the juſtice,*
" *mercy, equity and fear of the Lord, their ene-*
" *mies will be their footſtool; if not, their heirs*
" *and my heirs too will loſe all, and deſolation*
" *will follow;* but bleſſed be the Lord we are
" well, and live in the dear love of God, and
" the fellowſhip of his tender heavenly ſpirit;

* This remarkable prediction hath been fully verified.

" and

" and our faith is, for ourſelves and one ano- CHAP.
" ther, that the Lord will be with us a king XXVIII.
" and a counſellor for ever. 1682.

" Thy ancient, though grieved friend,

" WILLIAM PENN.

" Cheſter, 5th of the
" 12th mo, 1682."

CHAP. XXIX.

A temporary Meeting-houſe erected.—Philadelphia laid out and begun to be built.—Men's and Women's Meetings eſtabliſhed.—Their care for the Poor.—George Fox's Epiſtle to Friends of Penſylvania.—John Burnyeat's Epiſtle to the ſame.—Account and Character of John Thomas, Francis Whitewell, Thomas Langhorn and William Gibſon.—William Penn returns to England.

THE firſt ſettlers of this province were particularly careful to keep up their meetings in the houſes of the inhabitants, till they got a temporary meeting-houſe erected of boards, near the banks of the Delaware, where their capital city was deſigned to be built; and as they were nearly united in brotherly affection to each other, their meetings were held and conducted to their mutual conſolation and edification. In

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A temporary meeting-houſe erected of boards.

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their intervals they were aſſiſtant to each other in building ſmall houſes for their preſent reſidence, moſtly by the ſide of the Delaware, till their ability and leiſure might enable them to build more comfortable and ſubſtantial habitations.

Philadelphia laid out and begun to be built.

This was the beginning of the city of Philadelphia, a city, which for convenience of ſituation, (between the navigable rivers Delaware and Schuylkill) uniformity of deſign, and the regularity of its plan, remains a laſting monument of the abilities of the founder, and his unremitted attention to the convenience, ſatisfaction and intereſt of the colony. The very name ſeems to have been adopted from the generous view of reminding the inhabitants of the ſatisfaction and advantage of cultivating amity, and a mutual good underſtanding between themſelves, which they continued long to cheriſh, to a degree ſufficient to obtain the honourable teſtimony of ſundry authors in their commendation.

Men's and women's meetings eſtabliſhed.

Some little time after their eſtabliſhing a meeting of worſhip, William Penn and his friends, from experience of the ſervice and benefit thereof in thoſe parts from which they had removed, determined to ſet about the eſtabliſhment of men's and women's meetings, after the model of thoſe in England. The firſt monthly meeting of this kind fixed in and about Philadelphia (to which the meeting at Schackamaxon was now joined, and Pinepoint to Newton) was held there the 9th day of the 11th month this year. They agreed that the firſt

[a] S. Smith.

third

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third day in every month ſhould be the day for holding the monthly meeting in future for the city and county, and that every third meeting ſhould be the quarterly meeting for the ſame.

They proceeded next to the conſideration of a ſuitable place to build a meeting-houſe, and the plan upon which it ſhould be built; the expenſe whereof it was agreed ſhould be defrayed by friends of the city: And whereas it was not improbable but ſome individuals might be reduced to want through ſickneſs, the loſs of their parents or relations, or the expenſes attendant on ſo diſtant a removal and new ſettlement. Their next care was to provide for the preſent ſupply of the exigencies of ſuch, if ſuch ſhould be found, at the expenſe of the monthly meeting.

Their care of the poor to ſupply their exigencies.

This year George Fox, whoſe care was anxiouſly exerciſed over his friends for their good in every quarter of the world where they had fixed their reſidence, wrote an epiſtle to friends in this province and the adjacent provinces, adviſing them to liberality, juſtice, and open honeſty in all affairs of commerce which they might be engaged in. Not to let avarice tempt them to take advantage of the circumſtances of the times, or the neceſſity of thoſe with whom they dealt, by enhancing their gain in exorbitant profits when proviſions were ſcarce, but rather ſerve their neighbours by ſelling on moderate terms. On the other hand, when the prices were too low to give a profit equal to the neceſſary occaſions of the proprietors, that they ſhould purchaſe at an advanced rate, letting

G. Fox writes an epiſtle to friends of Penſylvania.

b S. Smith.

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their moderation appear, and joining charity with juſtice; and having an eye more to the public good than private intereſt, might be the means to procure themſelves the divine bleſſing upon their endeavours, and be of a good report among their neighbours. That as juſtice and open fair dealing procured them reputation, and cauſed them an encreaſe of trade, when riches thereby encreaſed, to beware of ſetting their hearts upon them, leſt they ſhould loſe the image of God, wherein the dominion over the creatures is retained. He cautions them againſt extending in trade beyond their capitals and abilities to manage, with reputation and juſtice to all men. To circumſcribe themſelves within ſuch limits, as that they might be punctual to all their engagements, and pay every one his due in due time. He further cautions them not to let out their deſires after extenſive poſſeſſions and greatneſs in the world, leſt they ſhould be abſorbed in the incumbrances thereof; like the fool who had gotten much, and his barns being too little, would build bigger, and then his heart ſhould be at reſt, but did not live to ſee the end of his hope, and was ſoon deprived of all his poſſeſſions.

And as friends were, ſeveral of them, advanced, and like to be advanced into places of truſt in government, and into the office of magiſtrates, he exhorts them earneſtly to the practice of juſtice, righteouſneſs, fidelity and mercy in the diſcharge of their truſt, quoting abundance of exhortations from ſcripture, deſcriptive of the various duties of magiſtrates, and recommending them to their peruſal and obſervation.

At

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1682.

At the ſame time John Burnyeat wrote alſo to theſe provinces, by deſire of the yearly meeting of London, giving them a ſatisfactory account of the ſtate of ſaid meeting, and of their receiving epiſtles from friends in ſeveral foreign parts, deſiring them alſo, on behalf of the meeting, to write to the ſaid meeting an account of their ſtate, the proſperity of religion amongſt them, and the circumſtances of the affairs of the ſociety in their ſeveral provinces, from their reſpective yearly or half-year's meetings, the latter end of the year, to be tranſmitted to the enſuing yearly meeting in London, which deſire was complied with, and an annual correſpondence between theſe colonies and the yearly meeting hath been continued thenceforward, and is continued ſtill.

John Burnyeat's epiſtle.

In this year died John Thomas of Gwynedd in Penſylvania, who had removed thither with ſeveral others of his countrymen, from Larthguin in Merionethſhire, whoſe character Hugh Roberts, his friend, acquaintance and countryman, hath drawn, to the following purport: He was a man diſtinguiſhed above the generality of his neighbours in his native country for the ſolidity of his underſtanding and excellency of his natural parts. In the year 1672 he was convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers, and this being a time of hot perſecution, proved the ſincerity of his motives for joining them in ſociety; for immediately upon his firſt convincement he had his ſhare of the ſufferings to which the people, whoſe profeſſion he had adopted were expoſed. The two firſt meetings he was at he was informed againſt and fined, and for theſe two fines, which could not

Account and character of John Thomas.

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not legally exceed 15s. the informers took from him two oxen and an horſe, and returned nothing back. But he ſeemed to feel leſs for his own ſufferings than for thoſe of his poor friends, inſomuch that he hazarded the loſs of his own eſtate to ſave them and theirs; for the principal informer, a ſubtle man, and intent upon his prey, perceiving a reluctance in the high and petty conſtables to execute the warrants to the injury or ruin of their peaceable neighbours, had formed a project to get himſelf appointed high conſtable, in order to make his gains ſure, and expedite the impoveriſhing or ruining of friends in their eſtates; and moſt of the magiſtrates of this age being too propenſe to give encouragement to the vileſt characters, and inveſt them with power to do miſchief to diſſenters, which virtuous perſons would not, gave this man hopes of ſucceſs in his application. John Thomas, hearing of his deſign, and foreſeeing the great loſs and diſtreſs likely to accrue to friends thereby, applied himſelf to one of the more moderate juſtices, and requeſted he might be accepted for that office, which was granted. The informer upon this continued his informations againſt friends, and procured warrant after warrant for diſtraints, which he brought to the high conſtable to execute, but he being principled againſt it, told the informer he was reſponſible, and kept the warrants by him till they had got nine, expecting at the ſame time to be proſecuted by the informer, to his great loſs or ruin in his outward circumſtances; but Divine Providence, who directs the actions of men to his own wiſe purpoſes, reſcued him from the impending ſuffering, for now

now the king's declaration for liberty of conſcience put a ſtop to the power and office of thoſe informers. CHAP. XXIX. 1682.

Being faithful, after ſome time he received a gift in the miniſtry, in the exerciſe whereof he became very ſerviceable amongſt his friends in his native country, by whom he was greatly reſpected and beloved during his reſidence amongſt them. At what time he removed to America doth not appear, but it is moſt probable in the emigration of laſt year, and that he did not long ſurvive his removal. His ſickneſs was tedious, but the weakneſs of his body did not diminiſh the ſtrength of his love to pure religion, or to the proſperity of his friends and family therein, to whom he imparted many lively exhortations, during his indiſpoſition, to religious care of their conduct in fidelity to God and man. A little before his departure he ſaid to ſome friends preſent, "Friends, wait "upon the Lord, for he is near;" and then expreſſed his reſignation in this ejaculation: "Bleſſed be thy name, Lord God everlaſting, "thy will be done in earth as it is done in "heaven." In this reſigned temper he calmly took his leave of his friends preſent, giving his hand to them one by one, and in an heavenly frame of mind departed this life the 3d day of the 3d month, 1683.

In the beginning of the next year Francis Whitewell departed this life, who beſides his ſervices in the government, being one of the proprietor's council, was alſo very ſerviceable in a religious capacity, being an approved miniſter amongſt his brethren, and a uſeful member of ſociety in other reſpects. William Darvel was choſen 1684. Francis Whitewell.

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choſen to ſupply his place as counſellor for Kent County.

1684.

Bucks County began now to encreaſe in ſettlements, and to extend back into the country, the earlier ſettlers having generally choſen to fix their reſidence along the ſide of the Delaware, both for the convenience of the river, and the neighbourhood of friends in Weſt Jerſey. They were already ſettled about as far back as Middletown, at which place a monthly meeting had been lately eſtabliſhed. The firſt of that kind there was held at the houſe of Nicholas Waln, the 1ſt day of the 11th month laſt year; and ſeveral friends from Europe continuing to remove to this province, and ſettle in theſe parts, this neighbourhood ſoon became well improved. Amongſt the reſt Thomas Langhorn from Weſtmoreland, with ſeveral other friends from that county, landing in this colony, retired up hither to ſettle, and proved a valuable acquiſition to this part of the province, being men inured to induſtry, and accuſtomed to agriculture: And ſome of them being men experienced in the work of religion and the diſcipline of the church, were well qualified for ſerviceable members of religious ſociety, eſpecially Thomas Langhorn, a man high in the eſteem of his friends in his native country, for his religious labours and ſervices amongſt them, to which they bore ample teſtimony in the certificate they gave him upon his removal to America, from which it appears, that the motive to his change of reſidence was of a more refined nature than a deſire to move in a conſpicuous ſphere of life, or to acquire property, "for," they ſay, "God hath made him

Account and character of Thomas Langhorn.

" him an inſtrument in his hand, for the help CHAP.
" and comfort of many, and for the ſervice of XXIX.
" truth in the church of Chriſt. An elder that 1684.
" hath ruled well, and is worthy of honour,
" who in his own country hath a large ſhare,
" that he need not covet the enlargement
" thereof elſewhere; and for outward poſſeſ-
" ſions, God hath given that plenty, and do-
" minion over them in the divine life wherein
" the bleſſing is obtained, to true content, ſo
" that the glory or riches of this world he
" hath no occaſion to covet after." It was a religious concern of mind, and an inward perſuaſion of its being now his proper place to ſettle in, that induced him to remove with his family hither, as the place aſſigned for his future miniſterial labour, to promote amongſt the new ſettlers (beſides a ſpirit of induſtry in cultivating their plantations) an inward exerciſe in the cultivation of religious diſpoſitions, by the help of that meaſure of grace of which they were reſpectively partakers, which produceth a life and converſation adorned with the uniform practice of piety and moral virtue. He did not ſurvive his arrival very long. Having purchaſed a plantation, and made ſome improvement on it, in a few years after he was removed from works to rewards, yet lived long enough amongſt them to make his loſs ſenſibly felt, being here alſo greatly beloved and eſteemed by his friends and neighbours.

W. Penn returns to England.

And now William Penn having ſpent about two years in his province of Penſylvania, and having ſettled this infant colony in a thriving proſperous condition, returned to England ſome months before the death of King Charles the ſecond,

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ſecond, the period at which I dropped the hiſtory of this people in England, and which I now reſume.

1684. Life of William Gibſon.

1684, William Gibſon of London, an eminent miniſter, and member of this ſociety, finiſhed an uſeful and profitable life in the courſe of this year, in whoſe converſion there was ſomething peculiarly remarkable. He was born at Caton in Lancaſhire about the year 1629, and during the civil wars inliſted as a ſoldier. Being in garriſon at Carliſle, and hearing that a Quaker preacher had appointed a meeting in that city, he, in concert with three of his comrades, made an agreement to go to the meeting, with a deſign to inſult and abuſe the preacher; but William Gibſon coming thither before his confederates, and the friend, who was Thomas Holmes, being in the courſe of his miniſtry, it was attended with ſuch demonſtration of power, as almoſt immediately wrought an effectual change in William's diſpoſition, for he was ſo affected therewith, that inſtead of executing his intended purpoſe, he ſtepped up near to the friend to protect him from inſult or abuſe, if offered by any other. From that time he frequented the meetings of this ſociety, and ſoon after quitted his military engagements, and employed himſelf in the occupation of a ſhoemaker; waiting upon God in ſilence, under the refining operation of his ſaving grace for about the ſpace of three years: He afterwards received a diſpenſation of the goſpel to preach to others. In the year 1662 he married, and ſettled in the precincts of Sankey meeting, near Warrington. He was a very ſerviceable man in that country while reſident there, his doctrine being

being effectual to the convincement of ſome, and to the confirmation of many others in the truth, which he recommended in the authority of the goſpel; ſo that when he removed from thence he left a good report and impreſſions of affectionate reſpect to his memory. CHAP. XXIX. 1684.

It fell to his lot with his brethren to ſuffer perſecution for his teſtimony, in divers impriſonments, in perſonal abuſes, and in loſs of ſubſtance by various diſtraints. In the year 1660, at a meeting at Hinton in Herefordſhire, many rude people and ſoldiers ruſhing in, pulled out thoſe that were met, and meeting William Gibſon in the ſtreet, juſt come to town on horſeback, thronged about him. He told them that *he came in love to their ſouls*, and as he rode along exhorted them to repentance, when a rude fellow beat him and his horſe unmercifully, after which they dragged him about in the dirt, and kept him with the reſt under a guard all night, and next day ſent two men to conduct them to Juſtice Blagny, charging them with holding an unlawful aſſembly, and breaking the king's peace: But the juſtice being of a different diſpoſition from the generality of thoſe of that age, judicious, reaſonable and diſpaſſionate, remarked, *That it was not probable they could be dangerous perſons or peace breakers, who, being twenty-three in number, were brought to him with only two men to guard them*, and ſo civilly diſmiſſed them.

In the 4th month, 1661, being on the road near Stanton in Shropſhire, he was taken by a party of ſoldiers, and with twenty-

[c] Beſſe.

three

CHAP. XXIX. 1684.

three of his friends, whom they had taken at ſeveral places, ſent to priſon, whence in a ſhort time they were eſcorted eight miles to the aſſizes, and there diſcharged, all but William Gibſon, whom the judge re-committed, and he remained in priſon a conſiderable time, where he was treated with great cruelty by the keeper, who would not permit his food to be taken to him, but he was obliged to draw it up by a rope. The keeper alſo threw him down a pair of ſtone ſtairs, whereby his body was greatly bruiſed, and beat him to that degree that he was ſick near ſix months.

Afterwards he travelled ſouthward on a religious viſit to his friends and others in the work of the miniſtry, and was again impriſoned at Maidſtone in Kent, where he was long confined. After he was releaſed he went to London and ſettled there, removing his wife and family to that city, where his ſervice was conſpicuous, in a fervent zeal againſt hypocriſy, formality and libertiniſm, but in a ſtrain of pathetick encouragement to the virtuous and religious mind, being inſtructed by the ſpirit of wiſdom and a ſound underſtanding to divide the word aright. His circumſpect converſation was a ſeal to his miniſtry, and the example he ſet, a confirmation to the doctrine which he taught.

He employed a part of his time in his impriſonments in writing epiſtles to his friends for their edification in righteouſneſs, when he could not edify them by his miniſtry, as well as occaſionally at other times; and was engaged in ſome controverſies, particularly on the ſubject of tithes, in a treatiſe, entitled, *Tithes ended in Chriſt*; for his teſtimony againſt which he frequently

quently ſuffered the loſs of property. He wrote ſeveral other treatiſes ſerviceable at the time. CHAP. XXIX.

In the fore-part of the year 1684, notwithſtanding he was in a declining ſtate of health, feeling an affectionate draft and engagement of mind to pay a religious viſit to his native country, Lancaſhire, he travelled thither, and having performed this ſervice, he was, in his return, ſeized with an ague and fever at Coventry, yet he reached his own habitation in London, and his indiſpoſition continued upon him about three months, and terminated his life in this world. On his ſick bed he exhorted friends who came to ſee him to "faithfulneſs and con- "fidence in the Lord, and to the love of the "brethren;" and teſtified againſt "that ſpirit "which leads out of the unity into a ſelfiſh ſe- "paration." He left two ſons and a daughter, for whoſe well-doing he diſcovered an anxious concern, by the frequent admonitions and important councils he inculcated upon them in the time of his ſickneſs, like Abraham, commanding his children and houſehold after him to keep the way of the Lord. He died the 20th of the 9th month, 1684, at the age of fifty-five years, and his funeral was attended by many hundreds of friends and others, from their reſpect to his memory, to the burial ground belonging to the ſociety in Bunhill Fields. 1684.

HIS-

HISTORY
OF THE
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

BOOK V.

From the Death of King CHARLES II. to the REVOLUTION.

CHAP. I.

The Duke of York aſcends the Throne.—Fictitious Addreſs of the People called Quakers.—Remark thereupon.—Firſt Application of the People called Quakers to King James.—Their ſuffering Caſe.—Friends of London draw up a more copious State of their Caſe to lay before Parliament.—The Duke of Monmouth lands in the Weſt.—Defeated, taken and executed.—Rigorous Severity againſt his Adherents.—The King addreſſeth the Parliament in a magiſterial Strain.—Which excepts againſt his diſpenſing Power.—Friends of London renew their Solicitations in favour of thoſe in Priſon.—King's Order for their Releaſe.

CHAP. I.

1684-5. The duke of York aſcends the throne.

NOTWITHSTANDING the oppoſition which, during the late reign, had been made to the ſucceſſion of the Duke of York, and the dreadful

CHAP. I. 1684-5.

ful apprehenſions conceived by many Proteſtants of that event, yet immediately after the deceaſe of his brother he was proclaimed king, without the leaſt tumult or ſhadow of oppoſition. On the firſt day of his reign he aſſembled a council at Whitehall, in his ſpeech to which he diſclaimed arbitrary principles, promiſed his protection to the Church of England and the liberties of the people. His ſpeech was printed and read with applauſe. He received congratulatory addreſſes from moſt parts of the kingdom, many of them, as uſual, couched in ſervile terms of adulation: Amongſt the reſt a fictitious addreſs, remarked for its brevity, uncouthneſs and blunt familiarity of expreſſion, hath been by Eachard, and after him by Hume and others, publiſhed to the world for the addreſs of the people called Quakers to King James upon his acceſſion, conceived in the following terms: "We are come to teſtify our "ſorrow for the death of our good friend "Charles, and our joy for thy being made our "governor. We are told thou art not of the "perſuaſion of the church of England no "more than we, wherefore we hope thou wilt "grant us the ſame liberty thou alloweſt thy-"ſelf. Which doing we wiſh thee all manner "of happineſs."

Fictitious addreſs of the people called Quakers.

Remark thereupon.

It is allowed that the members of this ſociety ranked adulation and inſincerity in the liſt of vices not allowable to them to practiſe; that they were not in the cuſtom of paying complimentary addreſſes to any man; but that when their ſympathetic regard to the ſufferings of their friends, or the diſtreſſing feelings of their own, impelled them to apply for relief, on which

which occaſions chiefly they addreſſed their ſu- CHAP. periors, their addreſſes, though expreſſed in their plain manner, were comprized in reſpectful terms; void of flattery, but not indecent; unceremonious, but not uncivil. I. 1685.

Immediately on King James's acceſſion I find no account of their being in the number of the congratulatory addreſſers. The firſt addreſs they preſented, as far as appears, was in a very different ſtyle, on the like occaſion with thoſe which had influenced them to addreſs the ſucceſſive rulers from their firſt riſe. King Charles at his death left near one thouſand five hundred of them in priſon, on various ſevere proſecutions; and notwithſtanding we have ſeen petition upon petition preſented to him for relief, few of them were attended with beneficial effect; ſo that a people, paying a ſtrict regard to ſpeaking truth from the heart, could hardly term him their good friend. But the grievous ſufferings they had long endured with patience, and were ſtill ſubjected to, induced them, particularly on every change of government, to apply to the new rulers, in hopes at laſt to excite them to commiſerate their caſe, and to yield them redreſs.

Accordingly, about a month after this king's acceſſion to the throne, George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey and Alexander Parker waited upon him with the following addreſs, and caſe of their friends:

CHAP. I.

1685.

"To King James the Second.

"The humble application of the people called Quakers.

First application of the people called Quakers to king James.

"Whereas it has pleaſed Almighty God (by whom kings reign) to take hence the late king Charles the ſecond, and to preſerve thee peaceably to ſucceed, we, thy ſubjects, heartily deſire that the giver of all good and perfect gifts may pleaſe to endue thee with wiſdom and mercy, in the uſe of thy great power, to his glory, the king's honour and the kingdom's good. And it being our ſincere reſolution, according to our peaceable principles and converſation, (by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God) to live peaceably and honeſtly, as becomes true and faithful ſubjects, under the king's government, and a conſcientious people that truly fear and ſerve God, we do humbly hope that the king's tenderneſs will appear, and extend with his power to expreſs the ſame, recommending to his princely clemency the caſe of our preſent ſuffering friends hereunto annexed."

"To the King.

"The diſtreſſed caſe and requeſt of the ſuffering people commonly called Quakers, humbly preſented.

"Shewing,

Their ſuffering caſe.

"That according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the ſaid people, both men

men and women, are continued priſoners in England and Wales, only for tender conſcience toward Almighty God that made them. Many under ſentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refuſing the duty or ſubſtance of allegiance itſelf, but only becauſe they *dare not ſwear*. Others under fines on the act of baniſhment. Many on writs of excommunication. Beſides ſome hundreds have died priſoners, many by means of this long impriſonment ſince the year 1680, (as 'tis judged) thereby making widows and fatherleſs, and leaving poor innocent families deſolate, in diſtreſs and ſorrow. Theſe two hard winters, their confinement tending alſo to the deſtruction of many in cold holes and jails, their healths being greatly impaired thereby. Beſides the violence and woeful ſpoil made by mercileſs informers on the conventicle act, upon many convicted, unſummoned and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country; as alſo on *Qui tam* writs and other proceſſes for 20l. a month, and two-thirds of eſtates ſeized *for the king*; all tending to the ruin of trade, huſbandry and induſtrious families. To ſome not a bed left, to others no cattle to till their ground or give them milk, nor corn for bread or ſeed, nor tools to work withal; and all theſe and other ſeverities done under pretence of *ſerving the king and the church*, thereby to force us to violate our conſciences, and conſequently to deſtroy our ſouls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God and our own conſciences, though accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter. And notwithſtanding all theſe long ſuſtained extremities, we the ſaid people do ſolemnly

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profeſs and declare, in the ſight of the heart-ſearcher, that we have nothing but good will and true affection to the king, praying for his ſafety and the kingdom's peace. We have never been found in any ſeditious or treaſonable deſigns, as being wholly contrary to our chriſtian principles and holy profeſſion.

"And knowing that *where the word of a king is, there is power*, we in chriſtian humility, and for Chriſt's ſake, intreat that the king will pleaſe to find out ſome expedient for our relief in theſe caſes, from priſons, ſpoil and ruin.

"And we ſhall, as in chriſtian duty bound, pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happineſs in that which is to come.

"London, the 2d of the 1ſt month called March, 1684-5."

Friends of London draw up a more copious ſtate of their caſe.

Soon after the friends of London drew up a more copious ſtate of their caſe and ſufferings, addreſſed to the king and both houſes of parliament, wherein they recapitulate their grievous ſufferings in perſon and eſtate by no leſs than ten penal laws*, which for a long ſeries of years had

* The ſtatutes whereby this people ſuffered impriſonment and ſpoil were the following, viz.

The 1ſt Eliz. ch. 2, for twelve pence a Sunday (ſo called)
The 5th Eliz ch. 23, de excommunicato capiendo.
The 23d Eliz. ch. 1, for 20l. a month.
The 29th Eliz. ch. 6, for continuation.

The

had been rigorouſly put in force againſt them by adverſe magiſtrates, frequently picking out of them, to gratify a cauſeleſs enmity, that law to proſecute them by, which they apprehended the moſt oppreſſive, clearly demonſtrating the iniquity and multiplied hardſhips to which they were expoſed, (which need not be recited, being ſuch as have already been repeatedly recited in this work) and praying relief. CHAP. I. 1685. G. Whitehead.

How far the parliament might be impreſſed by this affecting ſtate of the ſufferings of this oppreſſed people, with ſentiments of compaſſion and equity, they had not the opportunity of diſcovering, nor, I imagine, had even the members of the ſociety an opportunity of preſenting it to them; for ſoon after their meeting their proceedings were interrupted by the news of the Duke of Monmouth's arrival on the weſtern coaſt with three ſhips from Holland: The parliament, upon this intelligence, paſſed a vote that they would adhere to the king with their lives and fortunes, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt the duke, granted the king 400,000l. for ſuppreſſing the rebellion, and then the parliament adjourned. Duke of Monmouth lands in the Weſt.

This adjournment was in the fourth month, (June) and the parliament did not meet again till November. The ſummer was ſpent in quelling

The 35th Eliz. ch. 1, for abjuring the realm on pain of death.

The 3d James I. ch. 4, Premunire.

The 13th and 14th King Charles II. againſt Quakers. Tranſportation.

The 17th Charles II. ch. 2, againſt non-conformiſts.

The 22d Charles II. ch. 1, againſt ſeditious conventicles.

The 27th Henry VIII. ch. 20, for the recovery of tithes.

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quelling the rebellion, and taking vengeance rather than executing juſtice upon the unhappy inſurgents, and with them upon many who had been guilty of no treaſon, and more who could not be legally convicted of any. The Duke of Argyle landed in Scotland, and endeavoured to raiſe a rebellion there ſomething ſooner than the Duke of Monmouth's landing in the weſt. Both of them were defeated, taken and ſoon executed; and great numbers of the followers of the latter were executed without the form of a trial, by the Earl of Feverſham, and with ſavage wantonneſs by Colonel Kirk. Many others were tried, but very unfairly, by the forms of law, before a judge, who wantoned in cruelty, and triumphed in the miſery of the unhappy victims who fell under his hands; and the king, by advancing Jeffries immediately after to the office of chancellor, participated in his infamy, and loſt the affection of his ſubjects to a great degree, particularly of thoſe in the weſtern counties.

Severities againſt the inſurgents.

Upon the ſecond meeting of the parliament, the king, elated with the defeat of the inſurgents, apprehended his power ſo firmly eſtabliſhed as to bear down all oppoſition, and ſeemed determined to brook none. His ſpeech and demands were delivered in a ſtrain which ſhewed them that he was determined to be maſter. He demanded a ſupply to maintain an additional number of forces. He informed them he had employed ſeveral catholick officers, and that he had, in their favour, diſpenſed with the law requiring the teſt to be taken, and ſignified his reſolution neither to expoſe them to diſgrace, nor

The King addreſſeth the parliament in a magiſterial ſtrain.

nor himſelf to the want of their aſſiſtance, in caſe of another rebellion. CHAP. I. 1685.

The commons, having been elected under the influence of the court, were awed into compliance with his demand in part, and voted 700,000l. toward the augmentation of the army; but both lords and commons excepting againſt the king's diſpenſing power, as they had formerly to his brother's, he was ſo piqued that an immediate prorogation followed, whereby, I apprehend, the people called Quakers were prevented of their intention of laying their caſe before the parliament; at leaſt the parliament had no time to attend thereto. But being earneſtly deſirous to obtain the liberty of their impriſoned friends, the friends of London renewed their ſolicitations to the king for their liberation, and at length obtained the following warrant to Sir Robert Sawyer, attorney-general:

Both lords and commons except againſt his diſpenſing power.

Friends of London renew their ſolicitation in favour of their impriſoned friends.

"JAMES R.

"WHEREAS we are given to underſtand that "ſeveral of our ſubjects, commonly called "Quakers, in the ſchedules hereunto annexed, "are either convicted, or upon proceſs, in order "to their conviction of premunire, for not "ſwearing, or indicted or preſented for not "coming to church, or convicted for the ſame, "and ſeveral of them have been returned into "our Exchequer, and in charge for twenty "pounds per *menſem*, according to the ſtatutes "in that caſe provided, and ſome of them lie "in priſon upon writs *de excommunicatio capien-*

The King's order for their releaſe.

"*do*,

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" *do*, and other proceſſes, for the cauſes aforeſaid; and we being willing that our ſaid ſubjects, and other our ſubjects commonly called Quakers, who are or have been proſecuted, indicted, convicted, or impriſoned for any of the cauſes aforeſaid, ſhould receive the full benefit of our general pardon, which we have been pleaſed to grant to our loving ſubjects by our royal proclamation, with all poſſible eaſe to them, our will and pleaſure is, and we do hereby authorize, will and require you to cauſe ſuch of our ſubjects, commonly called Quakers, who are in priſon for any of the cauſes aforeſaid, to be forthwith diſcharged out of priſon, and forthwith to ſtop and diſcharge, or cauſe to be diſcharged, by giving your conſent on our behalf, all fines, forfeitures, or ſums of money, charged upon any of our ſubjects commonly called Quakers, for not coming to church, or ſet upon them upon any proceſs for the ſame; as alſo all proceſſes, indictments, preſentments and convictions, for any of the ſaid cauſes, by entering *noli proſequi*, or otherwiſe, as you ſhall judge neceſſary for rendering that our pardon moſt effectual and beneficial for our ſaid ſubjects; and for your ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant.

" Given at our Court at Whitehall
" the 15th Day of March, 1685-6,
" in the ſecond year of our reign.

" By his Majeſty's Command,
" SUNDERLAND, P.

" *To our truſty and well beloved*
" *our Attorney-general.*"

Sir

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Sir Robert being at this time at his country houſe in Hampſhire, about forty miles from London, and friends of that city being earneſt to expedite the releaſe of their fellow-profeſſors, requeſted George Whitehead and John Edge, accompanied by Rowland Vaughan, attorney, to undertake a journey thither, which they did accordingly, and were received and entertained by the attorney-general with great civility, 'till liberates could be made out by the attorney, under the attorney-general's directions for the priſoners in the city, which took up a good part of the day; by means whereof, after their return, their friends in the ſundry priſons in the city obtained their liberty within the deſcription of the warrant.

Soon after the attorney-general returned to London, and then the ſaid friends of the city exerted themſelves to procure the like liberates with all poſſible expedition, whereby the diſcharge of the reſt of the priſoners in the different parts of the nation, under the circumſtances comprized in the king's warrant, was obtained.

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CHAP. II.

The Complaint of Friends againſt the Informers.—They move for Commiſſioners to be appointed to examine the Truth of their Allegations,—Which is granted.—The Informers endeavour to get George Whitehead and others impriſoned.—The Commiſſioners draw up their Report.—To which George Whitehead objects,—And gets it amended.—Informers diſcouraged.

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AFTER the people called Quakers were releaſed from impriſonment, they were ſtill expoſed to the ravages of the unprincipled informers. The king having condeſcended to admit them ſundry times to his preſence, and to attend patiently to the relation of their grievances; and having complied with their petition to releaſe their impriſoned friends, they were encouraged to preſent the following complaint and petition againſt the informers and their iniquitous practices,

1686. Friends' complaint and petition againſt informers.

" To King JAMES the Second.

" The Complaint and Petition of his peaceable " and ſuffering Subjects called Quakers in and " about the City of London,

" Humbly preſenting,

" That only for religious concerns, a great " number of them continue ſore oppreſſed in " their

" their eſtates on numerous convictions made CHAP.
" againſt them in their abſence, often on falſe II.
" depoſitions ſworn by concealed informers, 1686.
" divers of them confident women, who ſwear
" for a part of the fines and ſeizures to main-
" tain themſelves and huſbands, ſome of them
" being priſoners for debt through their own
" extravagancies: And by warrants frequently
" iſſued out by Thomas Jenner, recorder of
" London, to break open and enter houſes, to
" ſeize for the king, (as is pretended) which is
" done with rigour and great ſpoil, and without
" compaſſion to widows, fatherleſs, or poor fa-
" milies who are ſuſtained by their daily in-
" duſtry, not leaving them a bed to lie on, &c.
" The fines only upon his warrants amounting
" to many hundred pounds, beſides what has
" been ſuffered by others. And that when
" appeal is made from the ſaid recorder, as the
" perſon convicting, (as the law directs) he
" being judge alſo upon the trial, altering the
" record, and urging juries to find againſt the
" appellant, divers appeals have proved inef-
" fectual, and to their great damage, conſider-
" ing their charges and treble coſts, &c. And
" that alſo upon old convictions under king
" Charles the ſecond, then remaining unexe-
" cuted, he now by new warrants entitles the
" now king James the ſecond to theſe grie-
" vances; beſides the great numbers impriſoned
" and crowded in jail by him and others for
" the ſame cauſe, to the greatly impairing *their*
" *healths and loſs of ſome lives*; witneſs Newgate
" at this preſent.

" Wherefore

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" Wherefore the ſaid ſubjects humbly intreat " the King, in his princely compaſſion and " wiſdom, to put a ſpeedy ſtop to theſe de- " ſtructive proceedings.

" Signed in behalf of the reſt of the " ſaid ſufferers,

" William Crouch, " Samuel Bolton,
" James Goodwin, " Timothy Emerſon,
" Thomas Lacy, " John Skelton."

They requeſt Commiſſioners may be appointed to examine the truth of their allegations, which is granted.

This petition was followed up by a requeſt to the king to appoint commiſſioners to examine into the truth of the allegations, by giving the petitioners an opportunity of proving them to the informers faces. Their requeſt was granted, and a commiſſion was iſſued to Richard Graham and Philip Burton, Eſqrs. who ſent their ſummons to the informers, ſufferers and witneſſes to appear before them at Clifford's Inn the 4th of June, (ſo called) 1686.

On the day appointed the complainants and their witneſſes appeared, and the informers alſo. As the people called Quakers had ſelected fifty-four caſes; and the friends, whoſe caſes had been ſo ſelected, being ſummoned to appear with their witneſſes; when they came to Clifford's Inn, the informers being without door, at ſeeing ſo numerous a company appearing againſt them, expreſſed their malice in this ribaldry, ſuitable to their vulgar manners: *Here come all the Devils in Hell;* and obſerving George Whitehead, who had been inſtrumental to bring them to this diſgraceful inveſtigation, they cried out, *And there comes the old Devil of all.*

The

The firſt charge advanced againſt the informers was that *they had ſworn falſely in fact*, which was clearly proved to their ſhame and confuſion in no leſs than thirty-four caſes; in divers of which they had given their information on oath againſt friends for being at meetings which they were not at; for holding meetings at certain places where there were none; ſwearing upon truſt from one another's information on mere preſumption. Several women informers took as much latitude in ſwearing as the men, and were equally unreſtrained by conſcience, law, or matter of fact as they. Their frequent perjuries being eſtabliſhed by ſubſtantial evidence, to the full ſatisfaction of the commiſſioners and others, friends next proceeded to lay before them ſundry caſes, wherein the doors of houſes and ſhops were broken open with violence by conſtables and informers, to make diſtraints ſevere and exorbitant, by which houſehold and ſhop goods were carried away by cart-loads. So many flagrant inſtances of perjury, devaſtation and ſpoil plainly appeared upon proof, that the commiſſioners grew weary of hearing them, and adjourned the further proceeding for ten days, when they had got through ſcarce one fourth of the caſes prepared to be laid before them.

At the ſecond meeting of the commiſſioners, the informers fee'd a lawyer to plead for them and manage their cauſe; but the inſtances of their perjury and oppreſſion, tranſgreſſing the bounds and ſeverity of the conventicle act, ſevere as it was, were ſo numerous, and ſo well ſupported by evidence, that he was quickly ſilenced. At this ſecond meeting, although they had

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had not examined half the caſes prepared for their cognizance, the commiſſioners thought the allegation of the petition fully proved, and that they had ſufficient grounds to make their report to the king.

The informers attempt to procure the impriſonment of G. Whitehead and others.

It ſeems proper to remark here the contrivance of the informers, to prevent ſome of the moſt active promoters of this enquiry from appearing againſt them at the ſecond meeting of the commiſſioners. Having procured a warrant againſt George Whitehead, John Daw, William Ingram and John Vaughton, bearing date the 12th of June 1686, they were apprehended the 13th, (being the day before that appointed for the ſecond meeting aforeſaid) and taken to the Lord Mayor's, where they were kept ſeveral hours waiting for his coming from his worſhip, and afterwards detained ſeveral more, until the informers ſhould come in to give evidence againſt them, but none appearing, about ten o'clock at night the mayor required them to be bound by recognizance to appear at the next ſeſſions for the peace, and in the mean time to be of *good behaviour*. With this requiſition they were not willing to comply, as implying miſbehaviour, which was not proved againſt any of them. Upon their refuſal, the mayor called them a company of coxcombs; and ordered a mittimus to be drawn to ſend them to priſon; but on further conſideration and conſultation, took their words to appear at next ſeſſions, and diſmiſſed them for that time, whereby they were at liberty to attend the commiſſioners at their ſecond meeting. And when they appeared at the ſeſſions, no evidence appearing againſt them, they were diſcharged by proclamation.

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The commiſſioners having drawn up their report, George Whitehead got a view of it, and objected to it, as very deficient and improper, being rather a propoſal for limiting proſecutions to the leſs ruinous penal laws, than a plain ſtate of matter of fact, according to the evidence before them, of the various perjuries, and illegal and injurious acts of the informers, one of the commiſſioners informed him, that they found themſelves engaged in a critical buſineſs, having received a meſſage from a great perſon or perſons in the church, ſoliciting them to do or report nothing that might invalidate the power of the informers, as they were of great ſervice to the church. George Whitehead notwithſtanding pleaded for juſtice to be done, in regard to matters of fact, in their report to the king, and prevailed upon them to amend it, and frame it more to the purpoſe.

The commiſſioners draw up a report,

to which G. Whitehead objects,

and gets it amended.

The king, in cabinet the 11th of 5th month 1686, referred the report and caſe of the petitioners to the Lord Chancellor, in order to correct the irregular proceedings of ſome juſtices and the informers. Beſides which he ſignified his * pleaſure to the ſubordinate magiſtrates and juſtices,

Informers diſcouraged.

* The following letter from the Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Huntington, I ſuppoſe, muſt have been written upon this occaſion.

" My Lord, " Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1686.

" The king being informed that one *John Smith*, a common informer, doth very vexatiouſly proſecute the Quakers in the county of Leiceſter, and in the town and county of Nottingham; and his majeſty being pleaſed to extend his favour to thoſe

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juſtices, that they ſhould put a ſtop to the depredations of theſe men. Inſtead therefore of being encouraged and protected in their oppreſſive perſecutions, they were now diſcountenanced by the juſtices, and by the quarter ſeſſions of London and Middleſex. And when it was now diſcovered that the protection and favour of the court was withdrawn from theſe vile perſons, ſeveral of them being proſecuted by other diſſenters, ſuch a ſcene of iniquity and injuſtice was laid open, as cauſed ſeveral of them to fly the country; and the reſt, when their trade was gone, were moſtly reduced to beggary *; a blaſt remarkably attending their diſhoneſt gains, and infamy blaſting their reputation.

Theſe informers had gradually riſen to that height of inſolence and audacity, as well as rapine, by the joint encouragement of the court

thoſe of that perſuaſion, his majeſty would have your grace direct the juſtices of peace to give no ſort of countenance to the ſaid John Smith, and his proſecution againſt the Quakers.

"Your grace's moſt faithful and humble ſervant,

"SUNDERLAND. P."

"To the Right Hon. the Earl of Huntington, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, chief recorder of Leiceſter, cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Leiceſter."

* George Whitehead informs us, that ſome time after the trade of informing was put a ſtop to, George Hilton, who had been a very vexatious informer to ſeveral friends in London, and to himſelf amongſt the reſt, came to his houſe, and complained, that he could get a place of ſervice with a great perſon; but he wanted clothes, or money to buy ſome; and that he gave him ſome money, thus rendering good for evil.

and

and church (ſo called) i. e. the high church ecCHAP. II. cleſiaſticks, as hath been already remarked; but now when their ſecular ſupport was taken away, the eccleſiaſticks, loth as they were to loſe their ſervice, were not able to ſupport them ſingly, with the weight of the court againſt them; ſo they were obliged, though reluctantly to give them up. 1686.

CHAP. III.

Another Grievance to which this Society was expoſed, ſuffering as Popiſh Recuſants.—Gives occaſion to a freſh Application to the King for a Noli Proſequi, *which is granted.—William Penn ſuppoſed a ſerviceable Aſſiſtant in procuring the King's Favour.—His Intimacy at Court ſubjects him to much Cenſure and Suſpicion.—George Fox writes an Epiſtle to Friends on account of regaining their Liberty.—Account of David Barclay.—And Anne Whitehead.*

THERE ſtill remained another grievance, and a very ſevere and iniquitous one, unredreſſed, which hath been repeatedly noticed, *i. e.* the ſufferings of friends, as popiſh recuſants, particularly the act of 23 Eliz. for 20l. a month, for abſence from their pariſh churches (ſo called); and that for two-thirds of their eſtates, were ſtill carried into execution, whereby many friends

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Another grievance to which this people was expoſed, ſuffering as popiſh recuſants.

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were greatly impoveriſhed in their ſubſtance and eſtates; being charged or eſtreated in the Exchequer, and writs annually iſſued out from thence againſt them, to the ſeveral ſheriffs, to make ſeizure of their goods and eſtates to ſatisfy the confiſcations; by virtue whereof, rude, unprincipled bailiffs, when they made their ſeizures would remain in the houſes eating and drinking until all the goods were removed. Theſe penal laws were as unjuſtly applied to the people called Quakers, as they were ſevere in the extreme, being made againſt popiſh recuſants, which they were not.

They apply to the king for a *noli proſequi*, who grants it.

They therefore made their third application to the king for a *Noli proſequi*, or ſtay of proceſs in the Exchequer, which he was pleaſed to grant; and gave direction to the lord treaſurer and attorney-general, that no writs ſhould be iſſued out of the Exchequer againſt friends on theſe accounts. The lord treaſurer accordingly ſent his warrant to the clerk of the pipe to forbear making out any proceſs againſt any of the perſons in the annexed liſt (being a liſt of friends under perſecution) and if any proceſs were made out, to ſuperſede the ſame. They met with ſome difficulty from the clerks in the office, in relation to the fees demanded, which appeared to them exorbitant; but at length bringing them to more reaſonable terms, they got the buſineſs effected, whereby the great damage or ruin of ſome hundreds of friends was prevented, and many thouſand pounds ſaved in their eſtates.

W. Penn ſuppoſed a ſerviceable aſſiſtant in procuring the king's favour.

Although I do not find William Penn's name amongſt the applicants to the king, in theſe exertions for the relief of his friends from the grievous ſufferings to which they were expoſed, I preſume

1686.

I preſume he might be very inſtrumental in cultivating a friendly diſpoſition towards the ſociety of which he was a member. For he having had an intimacy with the King, when Duke of York, for whom, excepting their difference in matters of religion, the duke had always diſcovered a perſonal reſpect and eſteem, was induced by the repeated proteſtations he had heard him make, to believe he was really principled for granting liberty of conſcience, and accordingly embraced the preſent opportunity of ſoliciting for the relief of his innocent and ſuffering friends; and that he might be the nearer on all occaſions for ſerving them and others, took lodgings this year near Kenſington.

W. Penn's intimacy at court ſubjects him to much cenſure and ſuſpicion.

And here his acquaintance and frequency at court, where it was generally thought thoſe of the king's religion were moſt favourably received, ſubjected him to the undeſerved cenſure of ſuch as leaſt knew him, as being a papiſt or jeſuit, or at leaſt of holding a correſpondence with the jeſuits at Rome; and this miſtaken notion was not entertained by the common people only, but began to get admiſſion into the minds of ſome perſons of better judgment; and amongſt others his acquaintance John Tillotſon (afterward Archbiſhop of Canterbury) having let in a ſuſpicion of this nature, dropped ſome expreſſions, which were improved to his diſadvantage. William Penn wrote a letter to him on the ſubject, which introduced a correſpondence, terminating in Tillotſon's full conviction that his ſuſpicion was groundleſs*.

* William Penn's life, page 92.

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The condeſcenſion and ready compliance of the king with theſe ſucceſſive applications for relief, and the liberty they enjoyed thereby, however they may be viewed by others, were by this body of people attributed neither to political projects, nor the king's compaſſion merely, but to proceed from an hand higher than the king's, which turns the actions, conſultations and deſigns of men to his own wiſe and gracious purpoſes, who having in unſearchable wiſdom permitted their faith and patience to be tried, was now, in his own time, pleaſed to work their deliverance: They were therefore thankful to the ſupreme being as the original cauſe, and to the king as the mediate adminiſtrator of the favour.

It was a great conſolation to the members of this ſociety, at their enſuing annual meeting in London, to have the company of many valuable friends, whoſe faces had not been ſeen there for many years, having been immured in priſon, ſome of them twelve or fifteen years and upwards, for no crime, but endeavouring to keep a good conſcience towards God. George Fox, who reſided now moſtly in and about London, being on every occaſion watchful over his friends for good, wrote an epiſtle of caution to them, to beware of careleſſneſs and lukewarmneſs, creeping in through the liberty with which they were now favoured, ſignifying "that the Lord by his "power had influenced the king's heart to open "the priſon doors, whereby about one thouſand "five hundred are ſet at liberty; and to give "a check to the informers, ſo that in many "places meetings are pretty quiet. My deſires "are that both liberty and ſufferings may all be "ſanctified

G. Fox writes an epiſtle of caution to friends, on occaſion of regaining their liberty.

" ſanctified to his people; and friends may prize CHAP. III.
" the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to
" him be thankful, who ſtilleth the raging waves 1686.
" of the ſeas, allayeth the ſtorms and tempeſts,
" and maketh a calm."

Account of David Barclay.

In this year David Barclay departed this life at his houſe at Ury in Scotland, and by his expreſſions on his death bed clearly manifeſted the great bleſſing and benefit of having through life an eye to this awful cloſing ſcene; in conſideration whereof he was endued with fortitude to deny himſelf of the vanity, the ſplendour and honour of this world, to a conſiderable ſhare of which his rank in life might have entitled him, in ſearch of true piety and peace of mind, amongſt a people deſpiſed, and every where ſpoken againſt. In the latter end of September this year, being the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, he was taken ill of a fever, and was alſo afflicted with the gravel, which continued upon him for two weeks; during which time he diſcovered a quiet and contented mind, in no wiſe diſturbed with the proſpect of the future; for which he had been mindful to prepare through the courſe of his life. He was preſerved in reſignation and patience under great pain, being ſupported under the feeling of a lively hope of ſhortly attaining admiſſion into the manſions of felicity, unallayed with ſorrow or pain. Two days before his death he ſaid to his ſon Robert, *I ſhall go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren, who are gone before me.* The next morning early, his ſaid ſon watching by him, and expreſſing his deſire, *that he who loved him might be near him to his end*, he anſwered, *the Lord is nigh me.* And, as comforted in the proſpect of his ſon's ſucceeding

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ſucceeding him, in a life of piety, virtue and religious converſation, he ſaid, *the perfect diſcovery of the day-ſpring from on high, how great a bleſſing hath it been to me and my family!* The apothecary who attended him, viſiting him in the courſe of his employment, he took him by the hand and ſaid, *thou wilt bear me witneſs, that in all this exerciſe I have not been curious to pamper the fleſh.* To which the apothecary replied, *Sir, I can bear witneſs, that you have always minded the better and more ſubſtantial part; and I rejoice to ſee the bleſſed end the Lord is bringing you to.* In the afternoon ſeveral of his friends came to ſee him; he ſaid, they came in a ſeaſonable time, and after ſome words were ſpoken, and Patrick Levingſtone had prayed, the ſick man lift up his hands and ſaid, *Amen, Amen for ever!* Adding, *how precious is the love of God among his children, and their love one to another! thereby ſhall all men know that ye are Chriſt's diſciples, if ye love one another. My love is with you, and I leave it among you.* Several of his friends ſtanding round his bed, perceiving ſome of them ſhedding tears, he ſaid, "dear "friends, all mind the inward man, heed not "the outward. There is one that doth reward, "the Lord of Hoſts is his name." His laſt expreſſions were uttered in prayer. "Praiſes to "the Lord. Let now thy ſervant depart in "peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit "my ſoul, ſpirit and body. Thy will O Lord, "be done, in earth, as it is done in heaven." And ſoon after he breathed his laſt.

And notwithſtanding he had deſired, that he might be interred without much parade, and that not many ſhould be invited to his funeral, his

his remains were attended to the grave by a numerous train, particularly of the higher rank, who, from the regard they bore to his memory, came uninvited, to pay this laſt office of reſpect thereto. CHAP. III. 1686.

This year alſo Anne Whitehead, wife of George Whitehead, mentioned in this work oftener than once, by the name of Anne Downer, departed this life; a woman religiouſly inclined from her early youth, who followed the moſt approved preachers, and uſed the beſt means, as far as ſhe could diſcover them, to inſure her preſent and future peace and happineſs[a]; and when the miniſters, bearing the reproachful name of Quakers, came to the city of London, where ſhe dwelt, ſhe was one of the firſt who received their miniſtry, and was diſtinguiſhed there by that name of reproach. Being convinced of the inward principle of the grace of God, ſhe yielded obedience to the convictions thereof; and by laying aſide not only manifeſt evils, but every thing, which, by the light ſhe was favoured with, was diſcovered to be an idol of her affections, or an obſtacle to her progreſs in religion; through many trials and ſufferings ſhe experienced a growth therein, and in due time was called and qualified to preach to others from her own experience of the work of ſanctification. Being ſent for to attend George Fox and his fellow-priſoners at Launceſton in 1656, as before remarked, ſhe travelled thither on foot, two hundred miles, and in that journey was inſtrumental to convince many of the truth of the doctrine ſhe publiſhed, ſome of whom were of account in the world. And in her return ſhe confirmed and eſtabliſhed ſeveral who were newly Account of Anne Whitehead.

[a] J. Whiting.

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newly convinced; and in the year 1658, ſhe travelled in the ſouthern counties, and the iſle of Wight. She was married firſt to Benjamin Greenwell, a grocer in Biſhop's-gate-ſtreet, and afterwards to George Whitehead. She was a woman remarkably conſpicuous in her day for her ſingular piety, benevolence and charity, adorned with the wiſdom which is from above, pure, peaceable, gentle and eaſy to be entreated, *full of mercy and full of good fruits*; ſpending much of her time in viſiting the poor, the impriſoned, the ſick, the fatherleſs and the widows, in their afflictions, and taking care that nothing might be lacking for their relief. In tender ſympathy with the afflicted, willingneſs to diſtribute, readineſs to communicate, and zealous exertions to do good to others, ſhe had few equals; ſo that it might be ſaid of her, *though many daughters have done virtuouſly*, ſhe (in ſome reſpects) exceeded them all. She was juſtly eſteemed an ornament to her profeſſion, for which ſhe undauntedly ſuffered, when it fell to her lot. She held her integrity to the laſt. When ſhe was viſited with her laſt ſickneſs, ſhe was removed out of London, about ſix miles, and her diſorder encreaſing upon her, ſhe perceived it was like to prove mortal; but the apprehenſion of her approaching end occaſioned no terror or perturbation in her well-prepared mind, having filled up her place in the creation, ſhe ſeemed in a good meaſure prepared to receive the ſentence of, "Well done, good and faithful ſervant—enter into the joy of thy Lord;" under the animating proſpect whereof, ſhe ſignified her reſignation and lively hope in ſundry ſavory and affecting expreſſions to her friends, who came to

to visit her on her death bed. To her ancient friend Mary Stout, who asking, if she knew her, she replied, "Yes, very well, 'tis Mary Stout. "I have my memory very well, and my un- "derstanding is clear, though I am very weak; "but I am given up to the will of the Lord, "whether to live or to die; for I have been "faithful to him in what I knew, both in life "and death." Perceiving some in trouble concerning her, she said, "There is no cause for "you to be troubled or concerned, for I am "well and in peace." To another visitor, "If "I never see thy face more, it is well with me— "God knoweth my integrity, and how I have "been, and walked before him." At another time, nearer her dissolution, "I have done with "all things in this life, and have nothing that "troubles me; but am in true peace and ease "every way." She thus departed in peace the 27th of the 5th month 1686, about sixty-three years of age, leaving impressions of affectionate regard to her memory in the hearts of many, to whom she had been helpful by her ministerial, or by her charitable services.

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CHAP. IV.

Informers and their Abettors in danger, through an Enquiry into their Application of the Fines they had recovered.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantz.—Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.—For which the Diſſenters preſent Addreſſes of Thanks to the King.—Addreſs of the People called Quakers of the City of London.—Second Addreſs from the yearly Meeting on behalf of the Body at large.—Both the King and the Diſſenters deſire the Repeal of the Penal Laws, but with different Views.—Application to the Prince of Orange in favour of the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Teſt.—He is willing the former ſhould be repealed, but not the latter.—Second Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.—Ordered to be diſtributed by the Biſhops, to be read in all Churches and Chapels.—Seven of them ſhew the Reaſons why they cannot comply.—For which they are impriſoned in the Tower.—Robert Barclay hath a Conference with the Biſhops in the Tower.—Perſecution ſubſides.—The People called Quakers petition the King for relief in reſpect to their Sufferings for Tithes.

CHAP. IV. 1687. THE people called Quakers and other diſſenters being thus providentially reſcued from the tyranny of perſecuting juſtices, high-churchmen and informers, theſe perſecutors were now made to

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to feel a little of the uneaſineſs they had, in the wantonneſs of power [a], abundantly occaſioned to others without pity and without mercy. The king, probably from the aforeſaid diſcovery of the practices of the informers and their confederates, appointed commiſſioners to enquire what money had been raiſed, or what goods had been ſeized by diſtreſs on diſſenters on proſecutions for recuſancy, and not brought to account in the Exchequer, and what money or goods had been received for any matters relating to religion ſince September 1677, in any of the counties for which they were named. They were to return the names of all perſons, who had ſeized goods or received money. This ſtruck a terror into the whole tribe of informers, the juſtices and others connected with them, who were ill provided to make up their accounts, being generally poor or extravagant, they are ſaid to have moſtly ſhared the booty amongſt themſelves, without either giving to the king or to the poor the ſhare appointed by law; ſo that if proſecuted they were threatened with ruin from this enquiry [b]; but it doth not appear the proteſtant diſſenters were forward to appear againſt them, it being reported that aſſurances were given by leading perſons, both clergy and laity, that if they would not appear no ſuch methods ſhould be purſued in future.

1687. Informers and their abettors brought into danger by an enquiry into their application of the fines they had recovered.

The dread and averſion which the people of England entertained of the Romiſh religion received additional ſtrength and influence by an occurrence which happened this year. Louis the Fourteenth revoked the edict of Nantz, which

Revocation of the edict of Nantz.

[a] Neale. [b] Neale.

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which had been publiſhed by Henry the Fourth for the ſecurity of the proteſtants, and which had been declared irrevocable. They were immediately diſtreſſed by all the rigours of perſecution, whereby multitudes of them were driven to ſeek in foreign nations an aſylum from the ſeverities inflicted upon them at home. Near fifty thouſand took refuge in England, and brought ſuch diſmal accounts of the cruel treatment they had undergone, as produced in all the proteſtants the utmoſt abhorrence of the ſanguinary, cruel and perfidious ſpirit of popery. The king's friendly reception and protection of the fugitives, and his affecting highly to blame the king of France, were ineffectual to cure his ſubjects of their jealouſy of him, or their antipathy to his religion.

The king's declaration for liberty of conſcience.

The forepart of the ſucceeding year king James publiſhed a declaration for liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects, ordering that henceforth the execution of all penal laws concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, for not coming to church, for not receiving the ſacraments, or for any other non-conformity with the eſtabliſhed religion, or for performing religious worſhip in any other way, ſhould be ſuſpended.

Although this liberty was only granted by the king himſelf, and the parliament when aſſembled might call his power in queſtion, as they had done his brother's in the like caſe, yet the diſſenters of every claſs, wearied out with the length and ſeverity of their ſufferings under the tyranny of the church (ſo called) being leſs attentive, perhaps, at this time to any ſiniſter view which might give riſe to it, or to the legality of it, than rejoicing at the

ſtate

ſtate of eaſe they found themſelves in, preſented addreſſes of thanks to the king for his ſaid gracious declaration; and the people called Quakers of the city of London, ſeeing that thoſe of other perſuaſions had gone up to court with ſuch addreſſes, that they might not ſeem leſs ſenſible of the relief which they, who had ſuffered more ſeverely than any others, received, thought it expedient alſo to wait upon the king with the following addreſs:

1687. For which the diſſenters preſent addreſſes of thanks.

" To King James II. over England, &c.

" The humble and thankful addreſs of ſeveral
" of the king's ſubjects, commonly called
" Quakers, in and about the city of London,
" on behalf of themſelves and thoſe of their
" communion.

" May it pleaſe the King,

Addreſs of the people called Quakers in the city of London.

" Though we are not the firſt in this way, " yet we hope we are not the leaſt ſenſible of " the great favours, we are come to preſent the " king our humble, open and hearty thanks " for, ſince no people have received greater " benefits, as well by opening our priſon-doors, " as by his late excellent and chriſtian declaration for liberty of conſcience, none having " more ſeverely ſuffered, nor ſtood more generally expoſed to the malice of ill men upon " the account of religion; and though we entertain this act of mercy with all the acknowledgments of a perſecuted and grateful people, yet we muſt needs ſay it doth the leſs ſurprize us, ſince it is what ſome of us have

" known

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"known to have been the declared principle of "the king, as well long before as ſince he "came to the throne of his anceſtors.

"And as we rejoice to ſee the day that a "king of England ſhould, from his royal ſeat, "ſo univerſally aſſert this glorious principle, "that conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, "nor people forced for matters of mere reli- "gion (the want of which happy conduct in "government has been the deſolation of coun- "tries and reproach of religion) ſo we do, "with humble and ſincere hearts, render to "God firſt, and the king next, our ſenſible "acknowledgments; and becauſe they cannot "be better expreſſed than in a godly, peace- "able and dutiful life, it ſhall be our endea- "vour (with God's help) always to approve "ourſelves the king's faithful and loving ſub- "jects; and we hope that after this gracious "ſtep the king hath made towards the union of "his people and ſecurity of their common in- "tereſt has had a due conſideration, there will "be no room left for thoſe fears and jealouſies "that might render the king's reign uneaſy, or "any of them unhappy.

"That which remains, great prince, for us "to do, is to beſeech Almighty God (by whom "kings reign and princes decree juſtice) to "inſpire thee more and more with his excel- "lent wiſdom and underſtanding, to purſue "this chriſtian deſign of eaſe to all religious "diſſenters with the moſt agreeable and laſting "methods; and we pray God to bleſs the "king, his royal family and people with grace "and peace, and that after a long and proſ-

"perous

" perous reign here, he may receive a better CHAP. IV.
" crown amongſt the bleſſed.
" Which is the prayer of, &c." 1687.

This addreſs met with a favourable reception; but being preſented by friends of London only, at the enſuing yearly meeting held in that city, conſtituted of repreſentatives from the ſeveral parts of the nation, a ſecond addreſs was drawn up in the name and on behalf of the community at large, deputing amongſt others William Penn to deliver it, who introduced the delivery with the following ſpeech:

" May it pleaſe the King,

" It was the ſaying of our bleſſed Lord to " the captious Jews in the caſe of tribute, *ren-* " *der to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and to* " *God the things that are God's.* As this diſ- " tinction ought to be obſerved by all men in " the conduct of their lives, ſo the king has " given us an illuſtrious example in his own " perſon that excites us to it: for while he was " a ſubject, he gave Cæſar his tribute, and now " he is a Cæſar, he gives God his due, viz. *the* " *ſovereignty over conſciences.* It were a great " ſhame, then, for any Engliſhman (that pro- " feſſes chriſtianity) not to give God his due. " By this grace he has relieved his diſtreſſed ſub- " jects from their cruel ſufferings, and raiſed " to himſelf a new and laſting empire, by add- " ing their affections to their duty: and we pray " God to continue the king in this noble reſolu- " tion; for he is now upon a principle that has " good-nature, chriſtianity, and the good of civil " ſociety

Second addreſs from the yearly meeting of London, on behalf of the body at large.

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" ſociety on its ſide; a ſecurity to him be-
" yond the little arts of government.

" I would not that any ſhould think that we
" came hither with deſign to fill the Gazette with
" our thanks; but as our ſufferings would have
" moved ſtones to compaſſion, ſo we ſhould be
" harder, if we were not moved to gratitude.

" Now ſince the king's mercy and goodneſs
" have reached to us throughout the kingdom
" of England, and principality of Wales, our
" general aſſembly from all thoſe parts, met at
" London about our church affairs, has appoint-
" ed us to wait upon the king with our humble
" thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do
" by this addreſs, with all the affection and re-
" ſpect of a dutiful ſubject."

The ADDRESS.

" To King JAMES the Second, over England, &c."

" The humble and grateful acknowledgment of
" his peaceable ſubjects called Quakers, in
" this kingdom.

" From their uſual yearly meeting in London,
" the 19th day of the 3d month, vulgarly
" called May, 1687.

" We cannot but bleſs and praiſe the name
" of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of
" princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the
" king to hear the cries of his ſuffering ſubjects
" for conſcience ſake: And we rejoice, that in-

" ſtead

" ſtead of troubling him with complaints of our CHAP. IV.
" ſufferings, he hath given us ſo eminent an oc-
" caſion to preſent him with our thanks: And 1687.
" ſince it hath pleaſed the king, out of his great
" compaſſion, thus to commiſerate our afflicted
" condition, which hath ſo particularly appear-
" ed by his gracious proclamation, and warrants
" laſt year, whereby twelve hundred priſoners
" were releaſed from their ſevere impriſonments,
" and many others from ſpoil and ruin in their
" eſtates and properties; and his princely ſpeech
" in council, and chriſtian declaration for liberty
" of conſcience, in which he doth not only ex-
" preſs his averſion to all force upon conſcience,
" and grant all his diſſenting ſubjects an ample
" liberty to worſhip God, in the way they are
" perſuaded is moſt agreeable to his will, but
" gives them his kingly word the ſame ſhall
" continue during his reign; we do (as our
" friends of this city have already done) render
" the king our humble, chriſtian, and thank-
" ful acknowledgements, not only in behalf of
" ourſelves, but with reſpect to our friends
" throughout England and Wales: And pray
" God, with all our hearts, to bleſs and pre-
" ſerve thee, O king, and thoſe under thee, in
" ſo good a work: And as we can aſſure the
" king it is well accepted in the ſeveral coun-
" ties from whence we came, ſo we hope the
" good effects thereof, for the peace, trade, and
" proſperity of the kingdom, will produce ſuch
" a concurrence from the parliament, as may
" ſecure it to our poſterity in after-times: And
" while we live, it ſhall be our endeavour
" (through God's grace) to demean ourſelves,

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" as, in conſcience to God, and duty to the " king, we are obliged,

" His peaceable, loving and faithful ſubjects."

The KING's Anſwer.

" Gentlemen,

" I thank you heartily for your addreſs: Some " of you know (I am ſure you do, Mr. Penn) " that it was always my principle, that conſci- " ence ought not to be forced; and that all " men ought to have the liberty of their con- " ſcience: And what I have promiſed in my de- " claration, I will continue to perform as long " as I live: and I hope, before I die, to ſettle it " ſo, that after-ages ſhall have no reaſon to alter " it."

Some have objected againſt our friends and other diſſenters, for addreſſing king James, upon the aforeſaid declaration of indulgence, as though they had thereby countenanced the king's diſpenſing with the laws in general: Let ſuch obſerve their imputation, as to the people called Quakers, ſufficiently guarded againſt in that part of their addreſs, where they ſay, " We hope " the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade " and proſperity of the kingdom, may produce " ſuch a concurrence from the parliament, as " will ſecure it to our poſterity."

Many of this people, being themſelves men of ſincerity and ſimplicity of heart, might apprehend the king to be in earneſt in his profeſſions in favour of liberty of conſcience.

Yet

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Yet from their experience in the former reign, of the precarious duration of ſuch indulgence, without the ſanction of an act of the whole legiſlature, they looked upon the liberty granted them uncertain and inſecure, until it ſhould be ratified by the two houſes of parliament, whoſe concurrence they eſteemed requiſite to give ſtability and permanency to the privileges they now enjoyed; accordingly they properly expreſs their gratitude to the king for what he had done in their favour, and modeſtly hinted their ſentiments of what they apprehended yet wanting to be done to complete the favour.

Although the diſſenters defired a repeal of the penal laws, as well as the king, yet their views appear widely different.

But although the diſſenters, as well as the king, were deſirous that the repeal of the penal laws might receive a parliamentary ſanction, yet the ends they had reſpectively in view were ſuch as to prevent a cordial coalition. James's deſign became every day more and more clearly apparent, to center entirely in the promoting and eſtabliſhing of popery in the nation, to which the diſſenters were no leſs averſe than the eſtabliſhed church; and notwithſtanding the eaſe and even favours which they enjoyed, under the preſent diſpoſition of the king towards them, yet they began clearly to perceive all theſe flattering meaſures were ultimately deſigned in favour of the Romaniſts; and therefore they placed but little confidence in the king's favours, and cautiouſly abſtained from lending their aſſiſtance to meaſures, the deſign of which they did not inwardly approve.

Notwithſtanding the king had prohibited the proteſtant preachers to meddle with controverted points, ſeveral of them continued their exertions in the proteſtant cauſe; the king, provoked

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at this oppoſition, broke all meaſures with the church, ſo called; he erected a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, to enforce obedience to his mandates. He ſent an ambaſſador to Rome, to acknowledge his ſpiritual obedience to the Pope, and reconcile his kingdoms to him. A popiſh nuncio was ſent to London, who made his public entry at Windſor, with all the uſual formalities. He attempted to force papiſts into the Univerſities, and ſucceeded at Oxford. By all theſe arbitrary acts he ſhocked the ſentiments of his ſubjects, confirmed their abhorrence of his meaſures, and precipitated his own downfal.

Application to the prince of Orange in favour of the repeal of the penal and teſt acts,

As the diſſenters in general were well affected to the Prince of Orange, and the nation regarded the princeſs as heir apparent to the crown, the king next directed, that their ſentiments might be procured upon the ſubject, in hopes that if the prince ſhould declare in their favour, it might have a beneficial influence on the deliberations of a parliament. The prince, naturally of a reſerved temper, was not forward to intermeddle in the matter; but at laſt, leſt his ſilence might be imagined an acquieſcence, the penſionary Fagel was authorized to convey the ſentiments of himſelf and the princeſs, through the hands of Stuart, who had correſponded with him on the ſubject, which were afterwards publiſhed to the nation, the purport of which was, that

who is willing to aſſent to the repeal of the penal laws, but not of the teſt.

they were willing to aſſent to the repeal of the penal laws, as far as they laid any reſtraint on the free liberty of the conſcientious exerciſe of religious worſhip, which they were willing ſhould be enjoyed in the fulleſt extent; but as for the teſt, and thoſe laws which debarred the papiſts from ſitting in parliament, or getting into places

of

of truſt and profit in government, they could by no means agree to the repeal of theſe, as they were not like the others, laws of puniſhment or perſecution, but merely a neceſſary ſecurity of the proteſtant religion. When this was publiſhed it gave the proteſtants freſh ſpirits and encouragement; but very much diſguſted the king. 1687.

When theſe attempts failed, the king, determinately bent on carrying his point, and mortifying the church of England, from whom the weight of oppoſition aroſe, on the 27th of the 2d month April 1688, publiſhed a ſecond declaration for liberty of conſcience, fuller than the former, exciting his ſubjects to accede to it, and to chuſe ſuch members of parliament as might do their parts to finiſh what he had begun, ſignifying his reſolution to convene a parliament to meet in November next; with an order of council annexed for reading his declaration in all churches and chapels, and directions to the biſhops to diſtribute the ſame through their dioceſes to be read accordingly; but the biſhops, unwilling to be the inſtruments of undermining their own intereſts, and thoſe of their church, moſtly declined compliance with this humiliating and diſagreeable mandate. Seven of them being in London, and conſulting together what expedients to uſe on this critical occaſion, came to a reſolution, to preſent an humble repreſentation to the king, of the reaſons why they deſired to be excuſed from complying with this order of council, alledging that the averſeneſs they found in themſelves againſt it proceeded neither from want of duty and obedience to their ſovereign, nor of due tenderneſs to diſ-

1688.

Second declaration for liberty of conſcience,

directed the biſhops to diſtribute the ſame to be read in all churches and chapels.

Seven biſhops decline compliance,

ſenters;

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ſenters; but becauſe it was founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing power as had been repeatedly declared by the Parliament to be illegal.

Although they waited perſonally upon the king with their petition, without communicating the contents to any perſon whatſoever, and preſented it to the king's own hand, he reſented it to ſuch a degree, that they were committed priſoners to the tower of London. This extraordinary proceeding occaſioned a great alarm among the people. The petition, on the other hand, was publiſhed by authority, with ſatirical remarks, ſetting forth, that though the biſhops had without tenderneſs or mercy exerciſed many inhuman cruelties upon the diſſenters, they promiſe now to come to a temper[e], but it is only ſuch an one as they themſelves ſhould ſettle in convocation; and though they had all along vigorouſly endeavoured to advance the regal power above all law, when it was ſtrained to the oppreſſion of diſſenters, yet now (as in 1672) they want to limit it by law, when exerted for their eaſe, that the laws for perſecution may retain the wonted force[f].

who are committed priſoners to the tower.

And notwithſtanding the public temper was warm in favour of the biſhops, yet the late ſeverities of ſome of their order againſt the diſſenters, particularly the Quakers (ſo called) occaſioning ſome reflections which came to their ears, they alledged, *That the Quakers belied them, and reported that they (the biſhops) had been the cauſe of the death of ſome.* Robert Barclay hearing of this, paid a viſit to the biſhops in the tower, and in a conference with them

R. Barclay, in a conference with the impriſoned biſhops, proves that ſome of their order had kept friends in priſon 'till their death,

[e] Neale. [f] Sewel.

them upon the ſubject, gave them undeniable proofs of ſome perſons, who by order of biſhops had been detained in priſon until death, though they had been apprized of their danger by phyſicians who were no Quakers. This was ſo manifeſtly evidenced that the biſhops were not able to contradict it; yet Robert Barclay told them, that ſince, through change of circumſtances, they themſelves were now under oppreſſion, it was by no means the intention of the people called Quakers to publiſh ſuch incidents, or to give the king or their adverſaries any advantage againſt them thereby. And they were accordingly very careful to refrain from every meaſure in word and deed that might in any reſpect aggravate the caſe of the priſoners, as eſteeming it no time to revive old animoſities, when the common enemy was ſeeking an advantage.

Perſecution ſubſides.

In the preſent ſtate of the nation, both the king and the members of the eſtabliſhed church endeavouring to gain the diſſenters to their ſide, perſecution ſubſided, and they enjoyed liberty of conſcience without moleſtation. In theſe circumſtances the people called Quakers thought it convenient at their yearly meeting in London this ſummer to draw up another addreſs to the king, upon a ſubject which ſtill rendered them expoſed to trouble and conſiderable detriment. This addreſs they preſented to him, which was as followeth:

The Quakers ſo called petition the king to relieve them from ſufferings for tithes, and in the caſe of oaths.

"To

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" To King James the Second, over England, &c.

1688. " The humble addreſs of the people called " Quakers, from their yearly meeting in " London, the 6th day of the month called " June, 1688:

" We, the king's loving and peaceable ſub- " jects, from divers parts of his dominions, " being met together in this city, after our " uſual manner, to inſpect the affairs of our " chriſtian ſociety throughout the world, think " it our duty humbly to repreſent to him the " bleſſed effects the liberty he has graciouſly " granted his people to worſhip God according " to their conſciences, hath had, both on our " perſons and eſtates; for whereas formerly we " have ever had long and ſorrowful liſts " brought to us from all parts almoſt of his " territories, of priſoners, and the ſpoils of " goods, by violent and ill men, upon account " of conſcience, WE BLESS GOD AND THANK " THE KING the jails are every where clear, " except in caſes of tithes and the repairs of " pariſh churches, and ſome few about oaths; " and we do in all humility lay it before the " king to conſider the hardſhips our friends " are yet under for conſcience-ſake in thoſe " reſpects, being in the one chiefly expoſed to " the preſent anger of the offended clergy, " who have therefore lately impriſoned ſome of " them 'till death; and in the other, they are " rendered very unprofitable to the public, and " themſelves, for both in reference to freedoms

" in

" in corporations, probates of wills and teſta- CHAP.
" ments, and adminiſtrations, anſwers in Chan- IV.
" cery and Exchequer, trials of their juſt titles
" and debts, proceeding in their trade at the 1688.
" cuſtom-houſe, ſerving the office of conſtable,
" &c. they are diſabled, and great advantages
" taken againſt them, unleſs the king's favour
" do interpoſe; and as we humbly hope he
" may relieve us, ſo we confidently aſſure our-
" ſelves he will eaſe us what he can.

" Now ſince it has pleaſed thee, O king, to
" renew to all thy ſubjects, by thy laſt decla-
" ration, thy gracious aſſurances to purſue the
" eſtabliſhment of this chriſtian liberty and pro-
" perty upon an unalterable foundation, and in
" order to it to hold a parliament in November
" next at fartheſt,

" We think ourſelves deeply engaged to
" renew our aſſurances of fidelity and affection,
" and with God's help intend to do our parts
" for the perfecting ſo bleſſed and glorious a
" work, that ſo it may be out of the power of
" any one party to hurt another upon the ac-
" count of conſcience. And as we firmly believe
" that God will never deſert this juſt and righ-
" teous cauſe of liberty, nor the king in main-
" taining of it, ſo we hope by God's grace to
" let the world ſee we can honeſtly and heartily
" appear for liberty of conſcience, and be in-
" violably true to our own religion, whatever
" the folly or malice of ſome men on that ac-
" count may ſuggeſt to the contrary."

This addreſs being preſented to the king was well received; but before the time propoſed for holding a parliament arrived he found it out of

CHAP. IV. 1688. of his power to redreſs their grievances, if he were ſo inclined, or ſupport himſelf on his throne. The legal confirmation of their preſent liberty, and their effectual deliverance from the hardſhips and inconveniences, which they experienced from their conſcientious ſcruple againſt taking oaths, were reſerved for the reign of his ſucceſſor.

CHAP. V.

The Biſhops in the Tower tried and acquitted.—The Queen reported to be delivered.—Prince of Orange invades England.—King James flies to France.—The Prince and Princeſs of Orange declared King and Queen of England.—William Penn falls under the groundleſs Suſpicion of being a Papiſt or Jeſuit.—William Popple's Letter to him thereupon.—His Anſwer.—William Penn ſummoned before the Lords of Council.

CHAP. V. 1688. The biſhops in the tower tried and acquitted. THE biſhops, who had been impriſoned in the tower, were brought to their trial at the king's bench bar, for publiſhing a ſeditious libel, and acquitted. The rejoicings of the people upon this occaſion were ſo loud and ſo general, that they reached the camp on Hounſlow-heath, where the ſoldiers joined in the general joy (although the

the king was there) conveying to him a diſguſting token of the little place he had in the affections of his people, which indeed he had taken little pains to cultivate.

It was now clearly perceived, that the king aimed at more than a toleration of his religion, and that his deſign was to give it the predominancy over every other, which gave a very diſcouraging proſpect to his proteſtant ſubjects, as they feared the loſs of both their civil and religious rights by the intolerant ſpirit thereof: Their hopes were chiefly centered in the king's advanced age, and the ſucceſſion of the princeſs of Orange, the preſumptive heireſs, to the crown, who had been educated in the proteſtant religion. But theſe hopes were greatly damped by a report of the queen's pregnancy, and afterward of her being delivered of a ſon, which being a circumſtance peculiarly favourable to the views and deſigns of the Romaniſts, and depriving the proteſtants of their expected reſource, occaſioned in the latter a ſtrong ſuſpicion of a deception: Many circumſtances attendant on this birth corroborated theſe ſuſpicions. But the king ſolemnly aſſerted the reality and legitimacy of the birth of his ſon.

The queen reported to be delivered of a ſon.

The diſſatisfaction of the people was ſo general, as to induce them to unite in an invitation to the prince of Orange, who brought over twelve thouſand men to their aſſiſtance. James at the ſame time being deſerted by many of his former adherents, was ſo terrified, that he fled to France, and leaving the throne vacant, a convention was ſummoned by the Prince, which conferred the crown upon him and his conſort, by

Prince of Orange invades England.

King James flies to France.

The prince and princeſs of Orange declared king and queen of England.

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by the title of William and Mary, king and queen of England.

1688.

When king James was declining in power, the odium reſulting from his meaſures reached moſt or all who were ſuppoſed of his party or well-affected to his perſon. William Penn continued to be expoſed to much undeſerved obloquy on this account, as appears by a letter from a particular friend of his, William Popple, ſecretary to the plantation office, and his anſwer thereto, where we may view afreſh the exaggerating ſpirit of party, which forms characters from vague conjectures.

W. Penn under groundleſs ſuſpicions of being a papiſt or jeſuit.

The following lines are extracts from the ſaid letter, and William Penn's anſwer thereto.

W. Popple's letter to him on that ſubject.

" To the Honourable WILLIAM PENN, Eſq;
" Proprietor and Governor of Penſylvania.

" HONOURED SIR,

" THOUGH the friendſhip with which you " are pleaſed to honour me doth afford me " ſufficient opportunities of diſcourſing with you " upon any ſubject, yet I chuſe rather at this " time to offer unto you in writing ſome re- " flections which have occurred to my thoughts, " in a matter of no common importance. The " importance of it doth, primarily and directly, " reſpect yourſelf, and your own private con- " cernments; but it alſo, conſequentially and " effectually, regards the king, his government, " and even the peace and ſettlement of this " whole nation. I intreat you, therefore, to " bear with me, if I endeavour in this manner " to give ſomewhat more weight unto my " words than would be in a tranſient diſcourſe,

" and

" and leave them with you, as a ſubject that CHAP.
" requires your retired conſideration. V.

" You are not ignorant that the part you
" have been ſuppoſed to have had of late years 1688.
" in public affairs, though without either the
" title, or honour, or profit of any public
" office, and that eſpecially your avowed en-
" deavours to introduce amongſt us a general
" and inviolable liberty of conſcience in mat-
" ters of mere religion, have occaſioned the
" miſtakes of ſome men, provoked the malice
" of others, and, in the end, have raiſed againſt
" you a multitude of enemies, who have un-
" worthily defamed you with ſuch imputations,
" as, I am ſure, you abhor. This I know you
" have been ſufficiently informed of, though I
" doubt you have not made ſufficient reflection
" upon it: the conſciouſneſs of your own in-
" nocence ſeems to me to have given you too
" great a contempt of ſuch unjuſt and ill-
" grounded ſlanders: for however glorious it
" is, and reaſonable, for a truly virtuous mind,
" whoſe inward peace is founded upon that rock
" of innocence, to deſpiſe the empty noiſe of
" popular reproach, yet even that ſublimity of
" ſpirit may ſometimes ſwell to a reproveable
" exceſs.

" But I muſt not entertain you with a de-
" clamation upon this general theme. My bu-
" ſineſs is to repreſent to you, more particular-
" ly, thoſe very imputations which are caſt
" upon yourſelf, together with ſome of their
" evident conſequences; that, if poſſible, I may
" thereby move you to labour after a remedy.
" The ſource of all ariſes from the ordinary
" acceſs you have unto the king, the credit you

" are

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" are ſuppoſed to have with him, and the deep " jealouſy that ſome people have conceived of " his intentions in reference to religion. Their " jealouſy is, that his aim has been to ſettle " POPERY in this nation, not only in a fair and " ſecure liberty, but even in a predominating " ſuperiority over all other profeſſions: and " from hence the inference follows, that who- " ſoever has any part in the councils of this " reign, muſt needs be popiſhly affected: but " that to have ſo great a part in them, as you " are ſaid to have had, can happen to none but " an *abſolute papiſt*. That is the direct charge; " but that is not enough, your poſt is too " conſiderable for a Papiſt of an ordinary form, " and therefore you muſt be a *Jeſuit*: nay, to " confirm that ſuggeſtion, it muſt be accom- " panied with all the circumſtances that may " beſt give it an air of probability; as that you " have been bred at St. OMER's, in the Jeſuit's " college; that you have taken orders at Rome, " and there obtained a diſpenſation to marry; " and that you have ſince that frequently offi- " ciated as a prieſt, in the celebration of the " maſs at Whitehall, St. James's, and other " places. And this being admitted, nothing " can be too black to be caſt upon you.

" Now that I may the more effectually per- " ſuade you to apply ſome remedy to this diſ- " eaſe, I beſeech you, Sir, ſuffer me to lay be- " fore you ſome of its pernicious conſequences. " It is not a trifling matter for a perſon, raiſed, " as you are, above the common level, to lie " under the prejudice of ſo general a miſtake, " in ſo important a matter. The general and " the long prevalency of any opinion gives it a " ſtrength,

" ſtrength, eſpecially among the vulgar, that is
" not eaſily ſhaken. And as it happens that
" you have alſo enemies of an higher rank,
" who will be ready to improve ſuch popular
" miſtakes, by all ſorts of malicious artifices,
" it muſt be taken for granted that thoſe errors
" will be thereby ſtill more confirmed, and the
" inconveniencies that may ariſe from thence
" no leſs increaſed. This, Sir, I aſſure you,
" is a melancholy proſpect to your friends; for
" we know you have ſuch enemies.

" Pardon, I entreat you, Sir, the earneſtneſs
" of theſe expreſſions; nay, ſuffer me, without
" offence, to expoſtulate with you yet a little
" farther. I am fearful leſt theſe perſonal con-
" ſiderations ſhould not have their due weight
" with you, and therefore I cannot omit to re-
" flect alſo upon ſome more general conſequences
" of your particular reproach. I have ſaid it
" already, that the king, his honour, his go-
" vernment, and even the peace and ſettlement
" of this whole nation, either are, or have
" been, concerned in this matter: your repu-
" tation, as you are ſaid to have meddled in
" public affairs, has been of public concern-
" ment. The promoting a general liberty of
" conſcience having been your particular pro-
" vince, the aſperſion of popery and jeſuitiſm,
" that has been caſt upon you, has reflected
" upon his majeſty, for having made uſe, in
" that affair, of ſo diſguiſed a perſonage as you
" are ſuppoſed to have been. It has weakened
" the force of all your endeavours, obſtructed
" their effect, and contributed greatly to diſ-
" appoint this poor nation of that ineſtimable
" happineſs, and ſecure eſtabliſhment, which I

" am

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" am perſuaded you deſigned, and which all " good and wiſe men agree, that a juſt and in- " violable liberty of conſcience would infallibly " produce. I heartily wiſh this conſideration " had been ſooner laid to heart, and that ſome " demonſtrative evidence of your ſincerity in " the profeſſion you make, had accompanied all " your endeavours for liberty.

" But what do I ſay, or what do I wiſh for? " I confeſs that I am now ſtruck with aſtoniſh- " ment at that abundant evidence which I know " you have conſtantly given, of the oppoſition " of your principles to thoſe of the Romiſh " church, and at the little regard there has been " had to it. If an open profeſſion of the di- " recteſt oppoſition againſt popery, that has ever " appeared in the world, ſince popery was firſt " diſtinguiſhed from common chriſtianity, would " ſerve the turn, this cannot be denied to all " thoſe of that ſociety, with which you are " joined in the duties of religious worſhip. If " to have maintained the principles of that ſo- " ciety, by frequent and fervent diſcourſes, by " many elaborate writings, by ſuffering igno- " miny, impriſonment, and other manifold diſ- " advantages in defence thereof, can be ad- " mitted as any proof of your ſincere adherence " thereunto; this, it is evident to the world, " you have done already: nay farther, if to have " enquired as far as was poſſible for you, into " the particular ſtories that have been framed " againſt you, and to have ſought all means of " rectifying the miſtakes upon which they were " grounded, could in any meaſure avail to the " ſettling a true character of you in men's judg- " ments; this alſo I know you have done.

" Nay

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" Nay I have ſeen alſo your juſtification from
" another calumny of common fame, about
" your having kidnapped one who had formerly
" been a monk, out of your American pro-
" vince, to deliver him here into the hands of
" his enemies; I ſay, I have ſeen your juſtifi-
" cation from that ſtory under that perſon's
" own hand: and his return to Penſylvania,
" where he now reſides, may be an irrefragable
" confutation of it, to any that will take the
" pains to enquire thereinto.

" Really it afflicts me very much to conſider
" that all this does not ſuffice. If I had not
" that particular reſpect for you, which I ſin-
" cerely profeſs; yet I could not but be much
" affected, that any man who had ſo deſervedly
" acquired ſo fair a reputation as you have for-
" merly had, whoſe integrity and veracity had
" always been reputed ſpotleſs, and whoſe cha-
" rity had been continually exerciſed in ſerving
" others, at the dear expence of his time, his
" ſtrength, and his eſtate, without any other
" recompence than what reſults from the con-
" ſciouſneſs of doing good; I ſay, I could not
" but be much affected, to ſee any ſuch per-
" ſon fall innocently and undeſervedly under
" ſuch unjuſt reproaches as you have done. It
" is a hard caſe; and I think no man, that has
" any bowels of humanity, can reflect upon it,
" without great relentings.

" Since therefore it is ſo, and that ſomething
" remains yet to be done, ſomething more ex-
" preſs, and eſpecially more public, than has
" yet been done for your vindication, I beg
" of you, dear Sir, by all the tender efficacy,
" that friendſhip, either mine, or that of your

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" friends and relations together, can have upon
" you; by the due regard which humanity,
" and even chriſtianity, obliges you to have to
" your reputation; by the duty you owe unto
" the king; by your love to the land of your
" nativity; and by the cauſe of univerſal re-
" ligion and eternal truth; let not the ſcandal
" of inſincerity, that I have hinted at, lie any
" longer upon you; but let the ſenſe of all
" theſe obligations perſuade you to gratify your
" friends and relations, and to ſerve your king,
" your country, and your religion, by ſuch a
" public vindication of your honour, as your
" own prudence, upon theſe ſuggeſtions, will
" now ſhew you to be moſt neceſſary, and moſt
" expedient. I am, with unfeigned and moſt
" reſpectful affection,

" Honoured Sir,

" Your moſt humble

" And moſt obedient ſervant."

" London, October the
" 20th, 1688."

W. PENN's Anſwer to the foregoing Letter.

" Worthy Friend,

" It is now above twenty years, I thank God,
" that I have not been very ſolicitous what the
" world thought of me. For ſince I had the
" knowledge of religion from a principle in
" myſelf, the firſt and main point with me has
" been, to approve myſelf in the ſight of God,

" through

" through patience and well doing: ſo that the CHAP.
" world has not had weight enough with me, V.
" to ſuffer its good opinion to raiſe me, or its
" ill opinion to deject me. And if that had 1688.
" been the only motive of conſideration, and
" not the deſire of a good friend, in the name
" of many others, I had been as ſilent to thy
" letter, as I uſed to be to the idle and malicious
" ſhams of the times: but as the laws of
" friendſhip are ſacred, with thoſe that value
" that relation, ſo I confeſs this to be a princi-
" pal one with me, not to deny a friend the
" ſatisfaction he deſires, when it may be done
" without offence to a good conſcience.

" The buſineſs chiefly inſiſted upon, is my
" popery, and endeavours to promote it. I do ſay
" then, and that with all ſincerity, that I am not
" only no Jeſuit, but no Papiſt. And which is
" more, I never had any temptation upon me to be
" it, either from doubts in my own mind about
" the way I profeſs, or from the diſcourſes or
" writings of any of that religion. And, in
" the preſence of Almighty God, I do declare
" that the king did never once, directly or in-
" directly, attack me, or tempt me, upon that
" ſubject, the many years that I have had the
" advantage of a free acceſs to him; ſo unjuſt,
" as well as fordidly falſe, are all thoſe ſtories
" of the town.

" The only reaſon that I can apprehend
" they have to repute me a Roman Catholick,
" is, my frequent going to Whitehall, a place
" no more forbid to me than to the reſt of the
" world, who, it ſeems, find much fairer quar-
" ter. I have almoſt continually had one bu-
" ſineſs or other there for our friends, whom I

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" ever ſerved with a ſteady ſolicitation, through
" all times, ſince I was of their communion. I
" had alſo a great many perſonal good offices to
" do, upon a principle of charity, for people of
" all perſuaſions, thinking it a duty to improve
" the little intereſt I had, for the good of thoſe
" that needed it, eſpecially the poor. I might
" add ſomething of my own affairs too; though
" I muſt own (if I may without vanity) that
" they have ever had the leaſt ſhare of my
" thoughts or pains, or elſe they would not
" have ſtill depended as they yet do.

" But becauſe ſome people are ſo unjuſt, as
" to render inſtances for my popery, (or ra-
" ther hypocriſy, for ſo it would be in me) it is
" fit I contradict them as particularly as they
" accuſe me. I ſay then, ſolemnly, that I am
" ſo far from having been bred at St. Omer's,
" and having received orders at Rome, that I
" never was at either place, nor do I know any
" body there; nor had I ever a correſpondency
" with any body in thoſe places; which is ano-
" ther ſtory invented againſt me. And as for
" my officiating in the king's chapel, or any
" other, it is ſo ridiculous, as well as untrue,
" that beſides that no body can do it but a
" prieſt, and that I have been married to a
woman of ſome condition above ſixteen years,
" which no prieſt can be, by any diſpenſation
" whatever; I have not ſo much as looked into
" any chapel of the Roman religion, and con-
" ſequently not the king's, though a common
" curioſity warrants it daily to people of all per-
" ſuaſions.

" And

" And once for all, I do ſay, that I am a CHAP.
" proteſtant diſſenter, and to that degree ſuch, V.
" that I challenge the moſt celebrated proteſtant
" of the Engliſh church, or any other, on that 1688.
" head, be he layman or clergyman, in public
" or in private. For I would have ſuch people
" know, it is not impoſſible for a true proteſ-
" tant diſſenter to be dutiful, thankful, and
" ſerviceable to the king, though he be of the
" Roman catholick communion. We hold not
" our property or protection from him by our
" perſuaſion; and therefore his perſuaſion
" ſhould not be the meaſure of our allegiance.
" I am ſorry to ſee ſo many, that ſeem fond of
" the reformed religion, by their diſaffection to
" him, recommend it ſo ill. Whatever practices
" of Roman catholicks we might reaſonably ob-
" ject againſt, (and no doubt but ſuch there are)
" yet he has diſclaimed and reprehended thoſe
" ill things by his declared opinion againſt per-
" ſecution, by the eaſe in which he actually
" indulges all diſſenters; and by the confirma-
" tion he offers in parliament, for the ſecurity
" of the proteſtant religion and liberty of con-
" ſcience. And in his honour, as well as in
" my own defence, I am obliged in conſcience
" to ſay, that he has ever declared to me, it
" was his opinion; and on all occaſions, when
" duke, he never refuſed me the repeated proofs
" of it, as often as I had any poor ſufferers for
" conſcience-ſake to ſolicit his help for.

" But ſome may be apt to ſay, *why not any*
" *body elſe as well as I? Why muſt I have the*
" *preferable acceſs to other diſſenters, if not a*
" *papiſt?* I anſwer, I know not that it is ſo.
" But this I know, that I have made it my
" province

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" province and buſineſs; I have followed and
" preſſed it; I took it for my calling and ſta-
" tion, and have kept it above theſe ſixteen
" years; and, which is more, (if I may ſay it
" without vanity or reproach) wholly at my
" own charges too. To this let me add the re-
" lation my father had to this king's ſervice, his
" particular favour in getting me releaſed out
" of the Tower of London in 1669, my father's
" humble requeſt to him, upon his death-bed,
" to protect me from the inconveniencies and
" troubles my perſuaſion might expoſe me to,
" and his friendly promiſe to do it, and exact
" performance of it, from the moment I ad-
" dreſſed myſelf to him: I ſay, when all this
" is conſidered, any body, that has the leaſt
" pretence to good-nature, gratitude, or gene-
" roſity, muſt needs know how to interpret my
" acceſs to the king.

" But, alas, I am not without my apprehen-
" ſions of the cauſe of this behaviour towards
" me, and in this I perceive we agree; I mean
" my conſtant zeal for an impartial liberty of
" conſcience. But if that be it, the cauſe is
" too good to be in pain about. I ever under-
" ſtood that to be the natural right of all men;
" and that he that had a religion without it, his
" religion was none of his own; for what is
" not the religion of a man's choice, is the re-
" ligion of him that impoſes it: ſo that liberty
" of conſcience is the firſt ſtep to have a reli-
" ligion. This is no new opinion with me. I
" have writ many apologies within the laſt
" twenty years to defend it, and that impartially.
" Yet I have as conſtantly declared, that bounds
" ought to be ſet to this freedom, and that mo-

" rality

" rality was the beſt; and that as often as that CHAP.
" was violated, under a pretence of conſcience, V.
" it was fit the civil power ſhould take place.
" Nor did I ever once think of promoting any 1688.
" ſort of liberty of conſcience for any body,
" which did not preſerve the common proteſ-
" tancy of the kingdom, and the ancient rights
" of the government. For, to ſay truth, the
" one cannot be maintained without the
" other.

" Upon the whole matter, I muſt ſay, I love
" England; I ever did ſo; and that I am not
" in her debt. I never valued time, money, or
" kindred, to ſerve her and do her good. No
" party could ever biaſs me to her prejudice,
" nor any perſonal intereſt oblige me in her
" wrong. For I always abhorred diſcounting
" private favours at the public coſt.

" Would I have made my market of the fears
" and jealouſies of the people, when this king
" came to the crown, I had put twenty thou-
" ſand pounds into my pocket, and an hundred
" thouſand into my province; for mighty num-
" bers of people were then upon the wing: but
" I waved it all; hoped for better times; ex-
" pected the effects of the king's word for li-
" berty of conſcience, and happineſs by it; and
" till I ſaw my friends, with the kingdom, de-
" livered from the legal bondage, which penal
" laws for religion had ſubjected them to, I
" could with no ſatisfaction think of leaving
" England; though much to my prejudice be-
" yond ſea, and at my great expenſe here;
" having, in all this time, never had either
" office or penſion, and always refuſing the re-

" wards

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" wards or gratuities of thoſe I have been able
" to oblige.

" If therefore an univerſal charity, if the aſ-
" ſerting an impartial liberty of conſcience, if
" doing to others as one would be done by, and
" an open avowing and ſteady practiſing of
" theſe things, in all times, and to all parties,
" will juſtly lay a man under the reflection of
" being a jeſuit, or a papiſt of any rank, I
" muſt not only ſubmit to the character, but
" embrace it too; and I care not who knows
" that I can wear it with more pleaſure, than it
" is poſſible for them with any juſtice to give it
" me. For theſe are corner-ſtones and princi-
" ples with me; and I am ſcandalized at all
" buildings, that have them not for their foun-
" dations. For religion itſelf is an empty name
" without them, a whited wall, a painted ſepul-
" chre, no life or virtue to the ſoul; no good,
" or example, to one's neighbour. Let us not
" flatter ourſelves. *We can never be the better*
" *for our religion, if our neighbour be the worſe*
" *for it.*

" He that ſuffers his difference with his neigh-
" bour about the other world to carry him be-
" yond the line of moderation in this, is the
" worſe for his opinion, even though it be
" true. It is too little conſidered by chriſtians,
" that men may hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs,
" that they may be orthodox, and not know
" what ſpirit they are of: ſo were the apoſtles
" of our Lord; they believed in him, yet let
" a falſe zeal do violence to their judgment,
" and their unwarrantable heat contradict the
" great end of their Saviour's coming, love.

" Men may be angry for God's ſake, and
" kill people too. Chriſt ſaid it, and too many

" have

" have practiſed it. But what ſort of chriſtians
" muſt they be, I pray, that can hate in his
" name, who bids us love; and kill for his
" ſake, that forbids killing, and commands love,
" even to enemies?

" Whatſoever divides man's heart from God,
" ſeparates it from his neighbour; and he that
" loves ſelf more than God, can never love his
" neighbour as himſelf. For as the apoſtle ſaid,
" *If we do not love him, whom we have ſeen;*
" *how can we love God, whom we have not ſeen?*

" Since all of all parties profeſs to believe in
" God, Chriſt, the Spirit, and ſcripture, that
" the ſoul is immortal, that there are eternal
" rewards and puniſhments, and that the vir-
" tuous ſhall receive the one, and the wicked
" ſuffer the other; I ſay, ſince this is the com-
" mon faith of chriſtendom, let us all reſolve,
" in the ſtrength of God, to live up to what
" we agree in, before we fall out ſo miſerably
" about the reſt, in which we differ. I am per-
" ſuaded, the change and comfort which that
" pious courſe would bring us to, would go
" very far to diſpoſe our natures to compound
" eaſily for all the reſt, and we might hope yet
" to ſee happy days in poor England; for
" there I would have ſo good a work begun.
" And how it is poſſible for the eminent men
" of every religious perſuaſion (eſpecially the
" preſent miniſters of the pariſhes of England)
" to think of giving an account to God at the
" laſt day, without uſing the utmoſt of their
" endeavours to moderate the members of their
" reſpective communions toward thoſe that dif-
" fer from them, is a myſtery to me! but this I
" know, and muſt lay it at their doors, I charge

" alſo

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" alſo my own ſoul with it, *God requires mode-*
" *ration and humility from us;* for he is at hand,
" who will not ſpare to judge our impatience,
" if we have no patience for one another. The
" eternal God rebuke (I beſeech him) the wrath
" of man, and humble all under the ſenſe of
" the evil of this day; and yet (unworthy as we
" are) give us peace, for his holy name's
" ſake!

" It is now time to end this letter, and I will
" do it without ſaying any more than this;
" thou ſeeſt my defence againſt popular ca-
" lumny; thou ſeeſt what my thoughts are of
" our condition, and the way to better it; and
" thou ſeeſt my hearty and humble prayer to
" Almighty God, to incline us to be wiſe, if it
" were but for our own ſakes. I ſhall only add,
" that I am extremely ſenſible of the kindneſs
" and juſtice intended me by my friends on this
" occaſion, and that I am, for that and many
" more reaſons,

" Thy obliged and affectionate friend,

" WILLIAM PENN."

Teddington, October
the 24th, 1688.

Notwithſtanding the foregoing explanation of his conduct; his clear refutation of ſundry calumnies charged upon him; his open profeſſion of his faith as a proteſtant, and the unequivocal proofs he had continually given thereof, and of his ſincerity in adopting and maintaining the principles of the people called Quakers, whereby he was reſtrained from the leaſt intermeddling in

any

any plot in favour of, or againſt any perſon whatever; yet William Penn's intimacy with the late king had ſo firmly fixed jealouſies of him in many minds of all ranks, as upon this revolution of government, occaſioned him conſiderable embarraſſment and inconvenience for ſome time after. 1688.

W. Penn ſummoned before the lords of council the firſt time.

[a] On the 10th of December 1688, walking in Whitehall, he was ſent for by the lords of the council, then ſitting; and though nothing appeared againſt him, and he aſſured them that he had done nothing, but what he could anſwer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his *country* and the *proteſtant religion* above his life, and never acted againſt either; that all he ever aimed at in his public endeavours, was no other than what the *prince* himſelf had declared for; that king James was always his friend, and his father's friend, and in gratitude he was the king's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true intereſt; yet they obliged him to give ſureties for his appearance the firſt day of the next term; which he did, and then was continued on the ſame ſecurity to Eaſter term following, on the laſt day of which no cauſe of crimination appearing, he was cleared in open court.

Death of R. Travers.

This year Rebecca Travers of London died. She was born about the year 1609, received a religious education, and was a zealous profeſſor among the baptiſts. In the year 1654 James Naylor came up to London, and being engaged to diſpute with the baptiſts, Rebecca's curioſity drew her, with many others, to hear the diſputation:

[a] Penn's Life, page 199.

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tion: And coming under the impreſſion of the prevailing prejudices, which public rumour circulated to the diſadvantage of the Quakers, ſhe pleaſed herſelf with hopes of enjoying the ſatisfaction, of beholding the conqueſt and triumph of her party over their ſimple and illiterate antagoniſt. For ſhe had heard of a people in the North called Quakers, who were principally remarkable for their ſimplicity and ruſtick behaviour; for a manner of worſhip ſtrangely different from all others; and a ſtrenuous oppoſition to all the public teachers; whereby they gave offence not only to the vain, but even the religious part of the people were ready to condemn them. Thus prepoſſeſſed, ſhe came to hear the diſpute, which turned out very differently from her expectation; for the plain peaſant proved an over-match for the champions of the baptiſts, making his replies and remarks ſo cloſely and ſo powerfully, that ſhe thought ſhe felt his words ſmite them. When one and another of them gave out, a third attacked him with confidence, as if he would have borne down all oppoſition; but producing ſcriptures, which turned againſt him, he alſo, being confuted, was obliged to give up.

Rebecca was aſhamed and confounded to find a man ſo ſimple in appearance ſhould get the advantage of their learned men; which affected her with ſerious conſiderations, and abated her pre-conceived prejudice ſo far, as to beget in her a deſire, to hear him in the exerciſe of his miniſtry, who had managed the controverſy ſo much beyond her expectation; ſhe had ſoon after the opportunity of gratifying her deſire, at a meeting at Bull and Mouth, and was at that time

time ſo fully convinced, that when ſhe came home, ſhe expreſſed her apprehenſion, "that "ſince the apoſtles days truth could not be "more plainly laid down, nor in greater power "and demonſtration of the ſpirit, than ſhe had "heard it that day; and from that time forward "ſhe attended the meetings of this people." CHAP. V. 1688.

[a] Soon after ſhe was invited by a friend to dinner with James Naylor, where one preſent, being high in notions, put many curious queſtions to James Naylor, to which he returned pertinent anſwers; to which Rebecca Travers giving cloſe attention, James Naylor, perceiving her deſirous to comprehend truth in her underſtanding, rather than apply it to rectify her heart and affections, taking her by the hand, ſaid, "feed "not on knowledge; it is as certainly forbidden "to thee as ever it was to Eve: It is good to "look upon, but not to feed upon; for whoſoever "feeds upon knowledge, dies to the innocent "life." This admonition ſhe received as truth, and found it ſo in her deepeſt trials; of which ſhe had her ſhare. The benefit ſhe received from his miniſtry, and the profitable impreſſions made upon her mind, by the obſervation of his circumſpect and ſelf-denying converſation in thoſe days, engaged her affectionate eſteem for James Naylor; and although ſhe was a woman of too much diſcretion and ſtability in religion to carry her regard beyond its proper limits, to ſuch extravagant lengths as thoſe weak people who contributed to his downfal; yet being a woman of a tender ſympathizing diſpoſition, ſhe attended him carefully in his grievous ſufferings, waſhed

[a] J. Whiting.

CHAP. V.

washed his wounds, and administered every charitable service for his relief in her power.

1688.

After some time she received a gift in the ministry, in which she seems to have laboured mostly in the city of London and its neighbourhood. She was a partaker in the sufferings of these times. In the year 1659 she thought it her duty to go to the public worship house, called John the Evangelist's, to which she formerly belonged; and after their worship was ended, she put a question to the priest, as she said, not to give disturbance, but for edification: The priest hurrying away without replying, his hearers assaulted her with violence, railing at, and pushing her down several times, whilst she had none to protect her, or take her part, though several of her relations were spectators of the abuse she received. She was committed to Newgate three times in one year, viz. 1664, this being the year wherein the conventicle-act for banishment came in force; when the mode of short and repeated imprisonments was adopted, in order that the third offence for transportation might be expedited. She wrote sundry small tracts, in one of which, directed to the parishioners of the aforesaid parish, she gives the following account of her religious experience, "that though she had "been a reader of the scriptures from a child "of six years old as constantly as most, yet "when, by the power of the gospel, she was "turned from darkness to light, they appeared "another thing in her view, being clearly ex-"plained to her state and her understanding, as "she came to learn of that spirit, which gave "them forth."

She

She was a virtuous woman, diſcreet in her conduct, and much employed in acts of charity and beneficence; of ſympathetic tenderneſs toward the afflicted; and therefore one of the firſt of theſe faithful women to whom the care of the poor, the ſick and the impriſoned members of the ſociety, was aſſigned, which care, in conjunction with others, ſhe religiouſly diſcharged. And after a long life of virtuous and charitable deeds, ſhe died in much peace the 15th of the 4th month, 1688, in the 80th year of her age. CHAP. V. 1688.

William Dewſbury, a native of the Eaſt Riding in Yorkſhire, was early diſtinguiſhed amongſt the foremoſt members of this ſociety; both for depth of religious experience, the eminence of his labours in the miniſtry, and for the ſeverity of his ſufferings for the teſtimony of a good conſcience. He was firſt bred to the keeping of ſheep, and afterwards put apprentice to a clothier. He was religiouſly inclined early in life; he went amongſt the independents and baptiſts, but could not join in cloſe communion with either; and when the civil wars broke out he entered into the parliament's army, with thoſe who pretended they fought for the goſpel, but appeared too ignorant of what he conceived the goſpel to be. As he grew more ſeriouſly attentive to religious conſiderations, the recollection of the expreſſion of our Saviour, "Put up "thy ſword into the ſcabbard; if my kingdom "were of this world, then would my ſervants "fight," affected his mind with a lively impreſſion of the inconſiſtency of war with the peaceable goſpel of Chriſt. Under this conviction he left the army, and returned to his outward habitation and calling; and while his hands William Dewſbury.

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hands were diligently employed in his outward vocation, his mind was often exerciſed under the convictions of that light which had convinced him of the evil of outward wars, in a ſpiritual conflict with his inward enemies, the propenſities of nature and the body of ſin; and by patient and faithful attention to the grace of God which bringeth ſalvation, he received ſtrength to overcome his evil propenſities. About this time George Fox coming to Balby, William Dewſbury, as hath been related in courſe, aſſented to his doctrine, as agreeing with his experience, joined him in fellowſhip, and ſoon after in the work of the miniſtry.

He travelled much in different parts of England for the propagation of truth and righteouſneſs, for which, like his brethren, he met with much perſonal abuſe from the miſled multitude: his impriſonments were many, and ſome of them long. In the year 1654, on the information of Edward Bowles, a prieſt of York, as a ringleader of the Quakers, judge Windham granted a warrant to apprehend him; and being ſoon after apprehended at a meeting at Crake, the conſtable conſented to his continuing there until next day, but in the night a rude multitude of the inhabitants beſet the houſe where he lodged, and ſeized him by violence, ſhouting loudly as they were hauling him from place to place. Thus they kept him until the next day, and then took him before a magiſtrate; who, although upon examination he could find no legal cauſe, committed him priſoner to York Caſtle, where he lay until the aſſizes; but was brought to no trial, and at the termination of the aſſizes he was cleared by proclamation. He then purſued the line

line of his duty, travelling through Yorkſhire and Nottinghamſhire to Darby and Leiceſter, at which places he was taken up, carried before magiſtrates, and ordered to be turned out of both theſe towns; but returned and fulfilled his miniſtry, until he apprehended himſelf clear. His next impriſonment was at Northampton, in company with Joſeph Storr and others, of which a pretty full account hath been given in the courſe of this work*. In the year 1657, he went up to London, and from thence he travelled into Kent, and along the South coaſt weſtward to the Land's end. In his return through Devonſhire he was ſtopped at Torrington, put under a guard, and brought before the mayor and other magiſtrates. At this time many being raiſed to offices of magiſtracy from inferior ſtations, were very jealous of the honour of their office; enraged at his appearing before them with his hat on, ſome of them, in wrath, threw his hat on the ground, charged him with being a jeſuit from abroad, read him ſeveral new laws againſt him (as they ſaid) as a vagabond, and ſent him to priſon. They brought him again to examination, to try if they could enſnare him in his words; but he was mercifully preſerved in that wiſdom, that they could gain no advantage over him that way. They then made a mittimus to ſend him to the common jail at Exeter; they returned him to his priſon, where he had only the cold floor for his bed; and made a mittimus to ſend him to the county jail, in order to ſtand his trial at the enſuing aſſizes. At laſt, as doubtful of their power of ſhewing cauſe, they tore the

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* See vol. I. page 190.

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mittimus, and ſet him at liberty: Being releaſed, he proſecuted his journey through Somerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, Glouceſterſhire and ſo on to Warwick, the place of his reſidence. He viſited Scotland in the year 1658, and London again in 1659. In the years 1661, 62, 63, his travels were much interrupted by ſucceſſive impriſonments for his teſtimony; firſt at York, for part of the two former years; next in Newgate, London; and again at York caſtle. And in 1663 he was impriſoned at Warwick, præmunired for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance, and detained a priſoner there about nineteen years in all, four of them under a cloſe impriſonment. Being releaſed for a ſeaſon by king Charles's declaration of indulgence, he ſpent a conſiderable part of his time of liberty, in repeating his travels for propagating religion and righteouſneſs in ſeveral parts of the nation (as he expreſſed it) while the doors was open. But after a few years he was again taken up in his travels at or about Leiceſter for a jeſuit, and recommitted to his former priſon at Warwick. The vindictive diſpoſition of the perſecutors of this time, leading them to add any invidious character to the iniquity and hardſhip of their impriſonments, which might render this people, and particularly the moſt uſeful and conſiderable members, obnoxious to public odium; the jeſuits being in a peculiar manner obnoxious at this time; for it was about the time of the popiſh plot. In this impriſonment he was detained by the beſt accounts, I have, until the general releaſe of friends by king James. After his laſt releaſe he was diſabled from travelling much, his health and ſtrength being ſo greatly impaired by

by the many violent abuſes and long impriſon- CHAP. V.
ments he had endured, that he was obliged to reſt frequently in walking from his houſe to the meeting place in the ſame town. In the 3d month, 1688, he travelled to London, moſtly viſited the meetings in that city, intending to ſtay the yearly meeting, which was approaching, and here preached his laſt ſermon in a lively animated teſtimony to the neceſſity of regeneration, in order to inſure an entrance into the kingdom of Heaven. But being ſeized with a ſharp fit of a diſtemper which he had contracted in priſon, he thought it expedient to endeavour to return home, and left behind him a ſhort epiſtle to the yearly meeting, ſignifying his reaſon for leaving London at that time, and wiſhing his friends there divine aſſiſtance and heavenly wiſdom, in their endeavours and conſultations for the good of the body. 1688.

He got home by ſhort journeys, but ſurvived his departure from the city only ſeventeen days. He was a man of deep penetration, great experience in the work of religion; courageous in bearing his teſtimony for the truth, both in his miniſtry and converſation, and undaunted in ſuffering for it; as appears by his following expreſſions on his death bed, to ſome friends who came to viſit him, "Friends, be faithful, and "truſt in the Lord your God; for this, I can "ſay, I never played the coward; but as joy- "fully entered priſons as palaces.—And in the "priſon houſe, I ſang praiſes to my God; and "eſteemed the bolts and locks put upon me as "jewels, and in the name of the eternal God, "I always got the victory; for they could not

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"keep me any longer than the time determined "of him."

His fidelity in duty, his ſincerity in religion, and his patience in tribulation, were abundantly rewarded by the ſerenity of his conſcience, and the peaceful tenour of his mind at this awful period, whereby he could look death in the face, not only without terror, but with a holy triumph over its power: For, continuing his diſcourſe he ſaid, "my departure draws nigh; "bleſſed be God, I have nothing to do but to die, "and put off this corruptible and mortal ta- "bernacle, this body of fleſh, that hath ſo many "infirmities; but the life that dwells in it aſ- "cends out of the reach of death, hell and the "grave; and immortality and eternal life is my "crown for ever and ever."

He concluded in prayer and ſupplication to the Lord, for all his people every where; but more eſpecially for his dearly beloved friends aſſembled at the yearly meeting in London, where he intended to have been, if his health had enabled him. He departed this life at his houſe in Warwick, in a good age, the 17th of the 4th month, 1688.

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

BOOK VI.

From the REVOLUTION to the ACCESSION of GEORGE I.

CHAP. I.

The Prince and Princeſs of Orange elected King and Queen of England.—Convention changed into a Parliament.—An Attempt to aboliſh the Teſt.—Rejected by the Lords.—Act of Toleration brought in and paſſed.—Some Members reluctant to the Eaſe intended the Diſſenters, and propoſed a Confeſſion of Faith as a Teſt.—Friends propoſe a Confeſſion of their own drawing up, which is accepted.—Declaration of Fidelity allowed to the Quakers, inſtead of the Oath preſcribed by the Act.—Clauſe for Payment of Tithes.—Account of Alexander Parker.—Further Troubles of William Penn.—Account of Robert Lodge.—Robert Barclay.—George Fox.—Thomas Salthouſe.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM and Mary, prince and princeſs of Orange, being elected king and queen of England, by a convention of the two eſtates of lords and

1689. The prince and princeſs of Orange elected king and queen of England.

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and commons, were crowned at Weſtminſter the 11th of 2mo. O. S. called April, 1689 *. The ceremony was performed by the biſhop of London, as Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, declined the office.

The king having appointed his privy council, they judged it expedient to convert the preſent convention into a parliament, in order that the new ſettlement might be eſtabliſhed by a legal ſanction: and it was thought hazardous to the peace of the nation to proceed to a new election, until the revolution was more firmly ſettled. For although the common danger had united different parties in a joint application to the prince of Orange, yet they were no ſooner reſcued therefrom, than their former prejudices, and jealouſies of him, and each other, began to revive. As he had been bred a Calviniſt, and was a warm advocate for liberty of conſcience, the preſbyterians and other diſſenters were zealouſly attached to him, and conſidered him as

* The coronation oath according to the new form was this:

Will you ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereunto belonging according to the ſtatutes in parliament agreed to, and the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame? *Anſwer.* I ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do.

Will you to your power cauſe law and juſtice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments? *Anſwer.* I will.

The next queſtion, will you to the utmoſt of your power maintain the law of God, the true profeſſion of the goſpel, and the proteſtant reformed religion eſtabliſhed by law? And will you preſerve unto the biſhops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all ſuch rights, and privileges, as ſhall belong to them? *Anſwer.* All this I promiſe to do?

their

their protector; but for the ſame reaſon the high-churchmen began to regard him with a jealous eye, firſt endeavoured to exclude him from the throne, and afterwards to thwart his meaſures, and perplex his government. The old party heats were rekindling, and virulent diſputations like to blow them up to a flame. In this ſtate of the nation it was deemed inexpedient to proceed to a new election. Wherefore the king went in the uſual form and ſtate, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. After the uſual form of returning the king thanks for his ſpeech, a bill was brought in and paſſed, whereby the lords and commons, now ſitting at Weſtminſter, were declared to be a parliament to all intents and purpoſes.

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The convention changed into a parliament.

The parliament now conceiving themſelves inveſted with full power to diſcharge their functions, proceeded to the enacting ſuch laws as appeared requiſite to attain the ends of the revolution. As the fears and averſion of the proteſtant ſubjects to popery had given riſe to a coalition, which brought about this revolution, the firſt attempt of the parliament was to ſtrengthen this coalition, in uniting the proteſtants of the different denominations in ſtronger bands of alliance againſt their common adverſaries, and attaching them cloſely to the preſent government, by taking away the ſacramental teſt (ſo called) and making room for all proteſtants to be admitted to offices, who might be found qualified; but this bill was rejected by the lords. This attempt in favour of the diſſenters being ſuppoſed to be promoted by the king, augmented the prejudices of the high-churchmen againſt him.

An attempt to aboliſh the teſt,

rejected by the lords.

The

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1689. Act of toleration brought in and paſſed into a law.

The next meaſure in favour of diſſenters was attended with better ſucceſs, i. e. the bringing in and paſſing an act, commonly called, *The act of toleration*, intitled *An act for exempting proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws*, which paſſed without much oppoſition. For after their late promiſes to the diſſenters, when they wanted their aſſiſtance; after loſing the pretext for oppoſition, on account of the incompetency of the power granting it; after the declaration of the biſhops in their addreſs to king James, "That in relation to the diſſenters they were "willing to come to ſuch a temper, as ſhall be "thought fit, when the matter comes to be con-"ſidered and ſettled in parliament:" The high-churchmen could not with any degree of plauſibility oppoſe ſo reaſonable a proviſion for the quiet and ſecurity of this body of the ſubjects in the poſſeſſion of their liberty and property. Yet ſtill ſome of them could not refrain diſcovering their reluctance to the relief intended to the diſſenters, and more eſpecially to the people called Quakers by this act: [b] for ſome friends of London attending the parliament to uſe their endeavours that the bill might paſs in ſuch terms as might yield an effectual relief to the ſociety from perſecution, and ſecure their religious liberties without interruption, they found the bill clogged with a confeſſion of faith, as a teſt upon the diſſenters, to qualify them for admiſſion to the benefit of the act which ſeemed to them deſigned to exclude the people called Quakers, in conſequence of a declaration made in the houſe, by ſome adverſe member or members, *That the Quakers*

Some members appear reluctant to the eaſe intended to diſſenters,

and propoſe a confeſſion of faith as a teſt.

[b] George Whitehead, p. 634.

1689.

Quakers were no chriſtians—An old refuted calumny of notorious adverſaries, or malicious apoſtates.

The article propoſed to be inſerted in the bill by way of teſt was this, "That all ſuch who "profeſs faith in God the father, and in Jeſus "Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God, and in "the Holy Spirit, co-equal with the Father and "the Son, one God bleſſed for ever: And do "acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of the old and "new teſtament to be the revealed will and *word* "of God."

Becauſe the people called Quakers diſſented from the unſcriptural terms, wherein divers profeſſors had endeavoured to explain their notions of the three, that bear record in heaven; and objected to the term, *the word of God*, being applicable to the ſcriptures, in the ſenſe the ſcriptures themſelves apply it, viz. *The word that was from the beginning, that was with God, and was God*, their adverſaries calumniated them with diſbelieving the Trinity, and denying the ſcriptures; whereas they were always ready to teſtify their faith in both according to ſcripture teſtimony, but did not eſteem themſelves obliged to receive for doctrine, the invented terms, or commandments of men, without it. [c] They believed in Chriſt, in his divinity, as the Son of God, and as he is the eternal *word*. And that the three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt, are ONE; one God bleſſed for ever.

Now it is apprehended, that the above clauſe for a teſt was inſerted in the bill on the preſumption

[c] G. Whitehead, p. 635.

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tion that this people would ſcruple acceding thereto, by ſome who had adopted the perſuaſion, received by too many at that time, that they diſbelieved the Trinity, and denied the ſcriptures.

Upon viewing this clauſe in the bill, the friends who were attending the parliament, to ſolicit the paſſing thereof in ſuch terms, as might give effectual relief to them and their brethren, as well as to other diſſenters, objected to ſome expreſſion in the aforeſaid profeſſion, as appearing unſcriptural; and therefore, at the deſire of Sir Thomas Clarges, and ſome others, who were friendly, that they might not lie under the imputation of being *no chriſtians*, nor be deprived of the benefit of the intended act, they propoſed the following profeſſion inſtead thereof, viz. "I "profeſs faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus "Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God, and in "the Holy Spirit, one God bleſſed for ever: "And do acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of "the old and new teſtament to be given by di-"vine inſpiration."

Friends propoſe a confeſſion of their own.

Which Sir Thomas Clarges took into the houſe, and moved in the committee of the whole houſe, that this laſt propoſed confeſſion of faith be inſerted in the place of the former; whereupon the friends in waiting, George Whitehead, John Vaughton, William Mead and John Olgood were called in and examined, and gave them, or the moderate part, full ſatisfaction as to their belief in theſe points, which was conducive to gain the end of their attendance, obtaining the ſame relief for their friends, as other diſſenters were favoured with.

This act gives liberty to diſſenters to hold their meetings without moleſtation, provided the doors were

were not locked, barred or bolted during the time of ſuch meeting. Provided alſo they take the oaths preſcribed in the act. And inaſmuch as the people called Quakers entertain a conſcientious ſcruple againſt taking any oath, they were entitled, upon their ſubſcribing the following declaration, to the benefit of the act, viz.

Declaration of fidelity allowed to Quakers inſtead of the oath.

" I, A. B. do ſincerely promiſe and ſolemnly " declare, before God and the world, that I will " be true and faithful to king William and queen " Mary. And I ſolemnly profeſs and declare, " that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt and re- " nounce, as impious and heretical, that damna- " ble doctrine and poſition, that princes excom- " municated, or deprived by the pope, or any " authority of the See of Rome, may be de- " poſed or murdered by their ſubjects or any " other whatſoever. And I do declare that no " foreign prince, perſon, prelate, ſtate or po- " tentate hath, or ought to have, any power, ju- " riſdiction, ſuperiority, pre-eminence or autho- " rity, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this " realm."

And provided they ſhall ſubſcribe a profeſſion of their chriſtian belief in theſe words:

[The ſame which the friends drew up.]

As a profeſſion of faith is required of this ſociety only, it evinces the truth of the conjecture, that this profeſſion of faith was ſtarted, with a view to exclude the people called Quakers from a participation in the benefits of this act.

It was alſo enacted, that no congregation or aſſembly be allowed by this act, until the place of ſuch meeting ſhould be certified to the biſhop of the dioceſe, or to the arch-deacon of the arch-deaconry,

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The people called Quakers by this act were at laſt legally tolerated in their religion, and exempted from the perſecution they had been long ſubjected to, for keeping up their religious meetings, and declining to take the oath of allegiance. But they were and are ſtill ſubjected to the power of thoſe called ſpiritual courts in proſecutions for tithes, the 5th clauſe of the act being,

Clauſe for paying tithes.

"Provided always, that nothing herein con-
"tained ſhould be conſtrued to exempt any of
"the perſons aforeſaid from paying of tithes,
"and other parochial duties to the church or
"miniſter, nor from any proſecution in any
"eccleſiaſtical court or elſewhere for the ſame."

So that they were not exempted from ſufferings for their religious diſſent to the legality of tithes under the goſpel. For although the king was principled againſt perſecution, yet this exemption was out of his power to grant, being prevented by the coronation oath. Many of the proſecutions for theſe demands evidence that the ſpirit of perſecution ſurvived the act of toleration, by the ſevere and oppreſſive methods adopted by many claimants of tithes for the recovery of their demands, of which an account may appear in the ſequel.

They

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They were as yet alſo liable to many inconveniences and loſſes, by reaſon of their conſcientious ſcruple to take an oath; but the legiſlature, ſometime after upon their petition, was pleaſed to yield them relief in that matter.

This year died Alexander Parker. [d] He was born on the borders of Yorkſhire, near Bolton in Lancaſhire; was well educated, and early convinced of the truth of the principles of the people called Quakers, and became an eminent miniſter in that ſociety. He accompanied George Fox in his journey to London, when he was ſent up by Colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell; tarried with him in and about London, and travelled with him through ſundry counties; as he did afterwards from time to time in divers journeys in different parts of England, in Scotland, and into Holland in 1684. He travelled alſo many journeys by himſelf in the exerciſe of his goſpel labours, being one in the number of the worthies of this age, who were given up to the ſervice of their maker, and the promoting of pure religion and the practice of piety in the nation, as the principal purpoſe of their lives. In the year 1664, [e] ſoon after the act for baniſhment was put in force, on the 17th of 5mo. O. S. commonly called July, two juſtices with conſtables, and armed ſoldiers, came to the meeting at Mile-end-green and placed a guard at each gate: After ſome time Alexander Parker ſtood up to ſpeak, beginning with theſe words, "In the "name of the Lord," upon which one of the juſtices ruſhed into the meeting, profanely crying out, "In the name of the devil pluck that "fellow

Account of A. Parker.

[d] J. Whiting, p. 184. [e] Beſſe, vol. 1. p. 393.

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"fellow down," which was preſently done. Then the juſtices took the names of all the men, being thirty-two, and ſent them to newgate for three months for the firſt offence upon the act for baniſhment. [f] Alexander Parker was impriſoned a ſecond time in the tenth month the ſame year. In the 3d^mo. called May, 1670, as he was preaching in Grace-church-ſtreet, he was violently pulled down, and carried before the mayor, who fined him 20l. In 1669 he married Prudence Wager, of Stepney, widow, and ſettled in London, but ſtill continued frequent travels into different parts to edify his friends. After he fixed his reſidence in London he was very ſerviceable in company with other friends in ſolicitations to government, for the relief of their friends under ſufferings, being a man very fit for ſuch ſervice, comely in his perſon and deportment. He wrote ſeveral treatiſes and epiſtles to his friends for their edification: And concluded a life ſpent in honeſt endeavours to do good, in much peace, the 8th of the 1ſt month 1688-9.

1690. Further troubles of W. Penn.

William Penn, notwithſtanding his public diſclaiming of diſloyal principles; notwithſtanding the defence he had made before the council; and notwithſtanding nothing criminal had been laid to his charge; yet his late ſuppoſed intimacy at the court of king James brought him under ſtrong ſuſpicions of being diſaffected to the preſent government, and involved him in a ſeries of troubleſome proſecutions during the courſe of this year: The intelligence of William Popple in his letter, that he had many powerful enemies,

[f] J. Whiting's Memoirs.

mies, ſeems confirmed by the ſequel, for he was again brought before the privy council, upon an accuſation of holding a correſpondence with the late king: Upon their requiring ſureties for his appearance, he appealed to king William himſelf, who, after a conference of near two hours, inclined to acquit him; but, to pleaſe ſome of the council he was held upon bail, and in Trinity term the ſame year diſcharged. 1690.

As the campaign in Ireland had not been attended with much ſucceſs the laſt year, king William determined to command the army there in perſon, which ſuggeſted to ſome of the diſcontented party a favourable opportunity, during his abſence to form a conſpiracy in favour of the abdicated monarch: This conſpiracy, originally formed in Scotland, was diſcovered about the time of the king's departure for Ireland, upon which a proclamation was iſſued out by the queen, for ſeizing, not only thoſe immediately engaged therein, but ſuch alſo as lay under ſuſpicion of being zealous partizans of the late king, and amongſt others William Penn; who, with divers lords and others to the number of eighteen, was charged with adhering to the kingdom's enemies; but proof failing reſpecting him, he was again cleared by the court of king's bench on the laſt day of that called Michaelmas term this year.

Being now at liberty, he had purpoſed to make another voyage to Penſylvania, and had publiſhed propoſals in print for a ſecond ſettlement there, but was prevented by a freſh accuſation of being concerned in another plot. King William going over to the congreſs at the *Hague*, as ſoon as his intentions were known, ſome of the diſaffected party

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party reſolved to take advantage of the opportunity, which his abſence would afford them, to form a new conſpiracy againſt the government; and in order to accompliſh their deſign, Lord Preſton and one Aſhton were fixed upon to go over to France, to concert with king James the meaſures and conditions, upon which they were to proceed: But by intelligence given to the Marquis of Carmarthen they were both taken in the hold of the veſſel, which they had engaged to take them to France, together with the packet of letters and papers they were carrying over. Aſhton was executed: But Preſton, to ſave his own life, informed againſt ſeveral of the nobility, who had been moſt active in forwarding the revolution, as well as againſt many of the partiſans of the late king, and amongſt others againſt William Penn; and this accuſation being backed by the oath of one * William Fuller, who was afterward branded by the parliament with infamy as an impoſtor, a warrant was thereupon granted for the apprehenſion of William Penn, which he narrowly eſcaped at his return from George Fox's burial, the 16th 11mo. O. S. called January 1690-1.

He had hitherto defended himſelf before the king and council: But perceiving his ſafety to be greatly endangered, having, undeſervedly, many powerful enemies, the tide of public rumour

* In the year 1702 this *Fuller* was proſecuted in the king's bench and convicted as an impoſtor: And for publiſhing certain libels, one entitled, *Original letters of the late king James, &c.* Another, *Twenty-ſix depoſitions of perſons of quality and worth*, was ſentenced to ſtand three times in the pillory, to be ſent to the houſe of correction, and to pay a fine of one thouſand marks.—*Salmon's Geography*, p. 241.

mour making againſt the accuſed, and two witneſſes now procured againſt him in particular, he thought it more adviſeable to retire for the preſent, 'till more favourable circumſtances might give him an opportunity of being heard without prejudice in vindication of his innocence, than in the preſent circumſtances hazard the ſacrificing thereof to the oaths of a profligate miſcreant; he accordingly appeared little in public for two or three years. During this receſs he employed himſelf in writing; and firſt, leſt his friends might be induced by public report to entertain any ſuſpicious ſentiments concerning him, he ſent the following epiſtle to their yearly meeting in London, viz. CHAP. I. 1690.

" The 30th of the third month, 1691.

" My beloved, dear, and honoured brethren,

" MY unchangeable love ſalutes you; and " though I am abſent from you, yet I feel the " ſweet and lowly life of your heavenly fellow- " ſhip, by which I am with you, and a partaker " amongſt you, whom I have loved above my " chiefeſt joy: receive no evil ſurmiſings, nei- " ther ſuffer hard thoughts, through the inſi- " nuations of any, to enter your minds againſt " me, your afflicted, but not forſaken, friend " and brother. My enemies are yours, and, in " the ground, mine for your ſakes; and that " God ſeeth in ſecret, and will one day reward " openly. My privacy is not becauſe men have " ſworn truly, but falſely againſt me;" *For wicked men have laid in wait for me, and falſe witneſſes have laid to my charge things that I knew not,* " who have never ſought myſelf, but the

CHAP. I. 1690. "good of all, through great exerciſes, and have "done ſome good, and would have done more, "and hurt to no man; but always deſired that "truth and righteouſneſs, mercy and peace, "might take place amongſt us. Feel me near "you, and lay me near you, my dear and be-"loved brethren; and leave me not; neither "forſake, but wreſtle with him that is able to "prevail againſt the cruel deſires of ſome, that "we may yet meet in the congregations of his "people, as in days paſt, to our mutual com-"fort. The everlaſting God of his choſen in "all generations, be in the midſt of you, and "crown your moſt ſolemn aſſemblies with his "bleſſed preſence! that his tender, meek, lowly, "and heavenly love and life may flow among "you, and that he would pleaſe to make it a "ſeaſoning and fruitful opportunity to you! that "edified and comforted you may return home, "to his glorious high praiſe, who is worthy for "ever! To whom I commit you, deſiring to be "remembered of you before him, in the neareſt "and freſheſt acceſſes, who cannot forget you in "the neareſt relation,

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"W. P."

His excellent preface to Robert Barclay's works, and another to thoſe of John Burnyeat, both printed this year, were farther fruits of his retirement; as were alſo,

1. A ſmall treatiſe, entitled, "Juſt Meaſures, "in an epiſtle of peace and love, to ſuch pro-"feſſors as are under any diſſatisfaction about "the preſent order practiſed in the church of "Chriſt."

2. "A key

2. "A key opening the way to every common "understanding, how to diſcern the difference "between the religion profeſſed by the people "called Quakers, and the perverſions, miſre- "preſentations, and calumnies of their adver- "ſaries, both upon their principles and prac- "tices; wherein ſeveral doctrines of that people "are ſet in a clear light:" a book ſo generally accepted, that it has been re-printed even to the fifteenth edition. CHAP. I. 1690.

Having thus improved the time of his retirement, it pleaſed divine providence in the year 1693, to diſſipate this cloud and to open his way again to public ſervice: for through the mediation of his friends, Lord Ranelagh, Lord Somers, Sir John Trenchard, or ſome of them, he was admitted to appear before the privy council, where he pleaded his innocency, ſo as to obtain his releaſe, and met with no further trouble on the like account.

In this year the ſociety were deprived of the following eminent and ſerviceable members, ſome of whoſe labours have appeared conſiderable enough to be particularly noticed in courſe in various parts of this hiſtory, viz. John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Robert Barclay, George Fox and Thomas Salthouſe.

1. John Burnyeat married, and ſpent his latter years in Ireland, where will be the proper place to give account of him.

2. Robert Lodge, his early and frequent companion and fellow traveller in his religious viſits to his friends in various parts, had his domeſtic reſidence at Maſham in Yorkſhire, where he was born about the year 1636. He was religiouſly inclined from his youth, and his underſtanding Account of Robert Lodge.

CHAP. I. 1690.

was opened to behold, in true religion, a purity and refinement beyond the inſtructions and general doctrine of the prieſts or teachers of that age; with ſeveral of whom he would diſcourſe on ſerious ſubjects, in which he generally proved his apprehenſions and notions ſuperior to theirs, before he had heard of any of the people called Quakers, or joined himſelf to their religious ſociety: But when they came into thoſe parts, he (with many others) was convinced about the year 1654, and the eighteenth year of his age. A meeting was gathered here to ſit together in ſilence, waiting for divine inſtruction, to feel the ſtate of their own minds, and to receive power over their natural infirmities and propenſities, and through faith being ſtrengthened to obtain the victory, were in due time prepared to receive ſpiritual gifts. Amongſt them Robert Lodge was favoured with an eminent gift in the miniſtry, in the exerciſe whereof he travelled in this nation, and in Ireland; his labours were attended with a convincing evidence, whereby he was made inſtrumental to gather many from the evils that are in the world and the entanglements thereof, to ſerious conſideration of their ways, and religious deſires after the attainment of peace and future happineſs.

His labours and travels in Ireland, in company with John Burnyeat, have been related in courſe. Soon after his return in 1660, he was impriſoned, with one hundred and twenty-five more in the county of York, in the general impriſonment ſucceeding the inſurrection of the fifth monarchy men, and detained in priſon till king Charles II. iſſued his proclamation for their releaſe in the next year. He was again impriſoned at Wake-

field

field in the ſaid county in 1665. He went to Ireland a ſecond time in company with George Fox in 1669, where their ſervice was conducive to the ſtrengthening of many, their meetings being held and their miniſtry exerciſed under the ſenſe of the divine power and preſence.

After his return he continued his miniſterial labours for ſome time about his native county: And attended the yearly meeting in London, accompanied by his old companion John Burnyeat, in the years 1674 and 1676, and in the latter year viſited Briſtol and parts adjacent. John Burnyeat and he had been frequent companions in travelling, and cloſely united in their ſervices, and they finiſhed their courſe nearly together, the former being removed by death the 11th and the latter the 15th of the ſame month, viz. the 7th month O. S. commonly called July, 1690.

Robert Lodge (with many other of his faithful brethren) having kept his firſt love, and holden his integrity to the laſt, in his concluding ſcene felt that ſerenity of mind which ſupported him above the fear of death; of which his expreſſions to his friends, who viſited him in his laſt ſickneſs, appear a convincing evidence; to one of whom he expreſſed his feeling of an approving conſcience in theſe terms, "The Lord "knows my heart that I have ſerved him; and "it hath been of more account to me, the gain-"ing of one ſoul, than all my labours and tra-"vels." To another, "It is well with me, I "have no diſturbance in my mind." And to a third, "The Lord knows I was never com-"miſſioned to go any way, or to do any thing, "but I have willingly anſwered him; and the "Lord who hath been my rock and refuge, my

"ſhield

CHAP. I. 1690.

"shield and buckler, and my sanctuary, hath "been with me all along to this day." His last expression was "Blessed be God, I have hea- "venly peace." In this peaceful temper of mind he breathed his last, like one falling into an easy sleep.

Character.

He was a man of an amiable disposition; a fine natural temper, cultivated by pure religion: A preacher of righteousness, no less in the whole tenour of his life, and circumspect conversation, than in word and doctrine; whereby he acquired the general esteem of his friends and neighbours, and left an honourable and spotless reputation behind him.

Robert Barclay.

The particular account of Robert Barclay's birth, family, education and convincement, laid before the reader at his first introduction into this history, and of his services in the course thereof, while it points him out as a man conspicuous for usefulness in the society, anticipates a considerable portion of the memoirs of his life and labours: So that it remains principally to relate the manner of his conclusion; transcribe his character, as drawn up by his intimate friend William Penn, and others, who were well acquainted with him; and to give account of the writings he hath left behind him, in vindication of his religious profession.

This excellent man was taken away in the prime of life, having attained only the 42d year of his age: But in a life devoted, as his was, to the love and service of his creator, and the employment of those remarkable talents with which his mind was enriched, to the propagation of pure religion among mankind, I esteem every period of our age, in the ordering of divine

vine wiſdom, a life long enough to anſwer the end of our exiſtence, and to enſure our well-being in a ſtate of eternal duration. His ſickneſs was ſhort; but having through life had his eye to a future ſtate, he wanted not a long time of preparation for death. James Dickenſon of Cumberland, being in the courſe of his religious travels in theſe parts, paid him a viſit, when on his death-bed, and as he ſat by him, they were favoured with the feeling of the divine power and preſence humbling and ſolacing their ſpirits; under the tendering affection whereof Robert Barclay expreſſed his love to all faithful friends in England, who kept their integrity in the truth; and deſired James to remember it to friends in Cumberland and at Swarthmore, and the faithful every where, adding, "God is good "ſtill, and though I am under a great weight "of weakneſs and ſickneſs, yet my peace "flows; and this I know, whatever exerciſes "may be permitted to come upon me, they "ſhall tend to God's glory, and my ſalvation, "and in that I reſt." He died at his houſe at Ury in Scotland the 3d day of the 8th month, 1690. CHAP. I. 1690.

His character as an author is given already: As a man and a chriſtian, three of his intimate friends, who were well acquainted with his merit, William Penn, Patrick Livingſtone and Andrew Jaffray, have in ſubſtance deſcribed his character as followeth:

"He loved the truth and way of God, as re- His character.
"vealed among us, above all the world, and was
"not aſhamed of it before men; but bold and
"able in maintaining it. Sound in judgment;
"ſtrong in argument; chearful in ſufferings; of
"a pleaſant diſpoſition; yet ſolid, plain and ex-
"emplary

CHAP. I. 1699.

" emplary in converſation. He was a learned " man, a good chriſtian; an able miniſter; a " dutiful ſon, a loving huſband, a tender and " careful father, an eaſy maſter, and a good kind " neighbour and friend. Theſe eminent quali- " ties in one, who employed them ſo ſerviceably, " and who had not lived much above half the " life of a man, aggravated the loſs of him, eſ- " pecially in that nation where he lived." *William Penn.*

" He was a lover of peace, and on all occa- " ſions exerted his endeavours to promote it. " The quickneſs of his penetration and diſcern- " ment furniſhed him with ability; his love of " peace, with a diſpoſition to promote reconcili- " ation; and his uncorrupted integrity, with un- " derſtanding to give ſound judgment in mat- " ters of difference, and compoſe and determine " them with impartiality," *Patrick Livingſtone.*

" He ruled his own houſe well; ſo that beau- " ty, good-order, holineſs, gravity and humi- " lity were conſpicuous therein. He was a " man of great meekneſs, evenneſs of temper, " and lowlineſs of ſpirit, not in the leaſt degree " lifted up with the ſuperiority of his attain- " ments, natural or ſpiritual: But through the " aſſiſtance of divine grace was ſo preſerved in " dominion over pride and paſſion, that he was " rarely ever ſeen in a peeviſh, angry, fretful, " or diſordered temper." *Andrew Jaffray.*

Account of his writings.

His writings were moſtly of the polemical kind. As he lived at a time when great pains were taken to vilify and defame the ſociety of which he was a member, he found it his concern to vindicate his profeſſion from the miſre-

preſentations

preſentations of its antagoniſts, which he is generally allowed to have done in a maſterly manner in the following tracts.

1690.

1. *Truth cleared of Calumnies*, publiſhed in 1670, about the 23d year of his age, occaſioned by a book, entitled *A Dialogue between a* Quaker *and a ſtable Chriſtian*, the invention ſuppoſed of one *W. Mitchell*, a preacher near Aberdeen.

2. Queries propoſed to the ſerious conſideration of the inhabitants of Aberdeen, by way of appendix to *Truth cleared of Calumnies*, 1670.

3. William Mitchell unmaſked; being an anſwer to his Animadverſions upon *Truth cleared of Calumnies*, 1671.

4. A ſeaſonable warning, and exhortation to and expoſtulation with the inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this preſent diſpenſation, and day of God's merciful viſitation towards them, 1672.

5. A catechiſm and confeſſion of faith, &c. 1673.

6. The *Anarchy* of the *Ranters*, and other libertines; the *Hierarchy* of the *Romaniſts*, and other pretended churches, equally refuſed and refuted, 1674.

7. A Vindication of the preceding tract, ſerving as an explanatory poſtſcript, 1679.

8. An *Apology* for the *true Chriſtian Divinity*, as it is held forth and preached by the people called in ſcorn QUAKERS. Dedicated to king Charles II. 1675, the 28th year of his age.

9. A diſpute between *John Leſley*, *Alexander Sheriff P. Gelly*, called *ſtudents of divinity*, at Aberdeen, and Robert Barclay and George Keith, 1679.

10. *Quakeriſm*

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10. *Quakeriſm confirmed.* A vindication of the chief doctrines and principles of the *Quakers*, from the objections of the ſtudents of divinity (ſo called) of Aberdeen, in their book, entitled *Quakeriſm canvaſſed*, 1676.

11. *Univerſal Love*, 1677.

12. *An Epiſtle of Love and friendly Advice, to the Ambaſſadors of the ſeveral Princes of* Europe *met at* Nimeguen *to conſult of the Peace of* Chriſtendom, ſhewing the true cauſe of WAR, and propoſing the beſt means of PEACE. To each of whom, with the epiſtle, were delivered one of his *Apologies*, which were received with reſpect, 1677.

13. A Vindication of his Apology; in reply to the objections made againſt it by one John Brown, in his book, entitled Quakeriſm the path-way to paganiſm, 1679.

14. The Poſſibility and Neceſſity of the inward and immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God towards the Foundation and Ground of true Faith, proved: In a letter written in Latin to a perſon of quality in Holland; and now alſo put into Engliſh, 1676.

George Fox

George Fox grown too infirm to bear travelling, in conſequence of the multiplied hardſhips, he had endured in long and afflicting impriſonments, and by other means, ſpent his latter years in the city of London and its neighbourhood, as the place where he could be moſt eſſentially and univerſally ſerviceable to his friends, particularly thoſe under perſecution and ſuffering for their religious teſtimony, his ſympathy with them producing an anxious ſolicitude for their relief. Beſides his public ſervice in the meetings of his friends

friends in the city, and places adjacent; and writing ſeveral epiſtles of advice on various occaſions; he ſpent much time in peruſing the records of the affairs of the ſociety, eſpecially thoſe of the meeting for ſufferings, and the letters addreſſed thereto, which when communicated to the meeting, he was ſure to preſs the ſpeedy anſwering thereof, according to the exigency, in ſuffering caſes; and to promote applications to government, both in behalf of particular ſufferers, and for the eaſe of the body in general, by proper perſons, who were more fit for active ſervices than himſelf, in the decline of his health and ſtrength. CHAP. I. 1690.

The laſt epiſtle he wrote, was a conſolatory epiſtle to friends in Ireland, with whom he deeply ſympathized under the great hardſhips, dangers, and diſtreſſing ſufferings, they were afflicted with by the war at that time carried on in that kingdom. And the next day after he had written this epiſtle, he went to the meeting at Grace-church-ſtreet, which was large (it being on the firſt day of the week) where he was enabled to preach the goſpel fully and effectually, opening many deep and weighty truths with great power and clearneſs; after which he prayed. And after the meeting he went to Henry Goldney's in White-hart-court, adjoining to the meeting-houſe, and ſome friends accompanying him, he told them he thought he felt the cold ſtrike to his heart as he came out of the meeting, adding, "I am glad I was there; now I am clear, "I am fully clear." As ſoon as the company retired, he lay down upon a bed (as he ſometime uſed to do, through wearineſs after a meeting) but ſoon roſe again; and feeling his ſtrength decay,

CHAP. I. 1690. decay, he was obliged to take his bed, where he lay in much contentment and peace. William Penn, who was preſent with him in the time of his confinement, hath reported "that as he "lived ſo he died, feeling the ſame eternal power, "that raiſed him to be greatly ſerviceable in his "generation, and preſerved him ſtedfaſt in a "life of righteouſneſs, to raiſe him above the "fear of death in his laſt moments. In full aſ-"ſurance he triumphed over death; and was ſo "calm in his ſpirit to the laſt, as if death were "hardly worth notice: Recommending to ſome "of us, who were with him, the diſperſion of "an epiſtle he had lately written, and ſome of "his books; but above all the care of friends, "and of all friends thoſe in Ireland and America, "twice over repeating '*mind poor friends in Ire-*"*land and America.*' And to ſome, who came in and enquired how he felt himſelf? he anſwered, "never heed; the Lord's preſence is over all "weakneſs and death, the ſeed reigns, bleſſed "be the Lord." He had the comfort of a ſhort illneſs, and his ſenſes clear to the laſt. He ſurvived his laſt miniſterial labour only two days, being removed from works to rewards on the ſucceeding third day of the week, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and in peace and good-will to all mankind, the 13th of the 11th month, 1690, in the 67th year of his age.

His funeral from the meeting at White-hart-court on the 16th of the ſame month was attended by a great concourſe of friends, and other people of divers ſorts (for though he had many enemies, yet many others had a high eſteem of his ſignal virtues) to friends burying ground near Bunhill fields, where (as well as in the meeting) ſeveral

ſeveral affecting teſtimonies were borne, under the lively ſenſe and remembrance of his extraordinary ſervices, during his life, after which his body was decently interred: but his memory, and the fruits of his religious labours, ſtill ſurvive. CHAP. I. 1690.

He was a man of tall ſtature and large body, but remarkably temperate in eating, drinking and ſleeping. His deficiency in literature, and want of a liberal education, have furniſhed a topick of ridicule and contempt to the generality of writers who have taken notice of him. But William Penn, who had the opportunity of knowing him better, and of diſcovering under the unpoliſhed ſurface, the intrinſic value of his character, deſcribes him to be "a man whom "God endowed with a clear and wonderful "depth; a diſcerner of other men's ſpirits, and "very much a maſter of his own. And though "the ſide of his underſtanding, which lay next "to the world, and eſpecially the expreſſion of "it, might ſound uncouth and unfaſhionable to "nice ears, his matter was nevertheleſs very "profound, and would not only bear to be "often conſidered, but the more it was ſo, the "more weighty and inſtructive it appeared. "And as abruptly and brokenly as ſometimes "his ſentences would fall from him about di-"vine things, it is well known they were often "as texts to many fairer declarations. And in-"deed it ſhewed beyond contradiction, that God "ſent him, in that no art or parts had any "ſhare in the matter or manner of his miniſtry; "and that ſo many great, excellent and ne-"ceſſary truths, as he came forth to preach to "mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit

"or

CHAP. I. 1690.

" or wiſdom to recommend them. So that as " to man he was an original, being no man's " copy."

He ever confirmed the doctrines he promulgated, by the example he ſet, ſhewing forth the fruits of the ſpirit out of a good converſation: Upright, ſteadfaſt, pacific, ſincere, innocent, diſintereſted, charitable, ſympathizing and univerſally benevolent, he not only maintained the antient chriſtian doctrine in words, but manifeſted in a practice uniformly regulated thereby, *that the grace of God, which bringeth ſalvation, and hath appeared to all men, teacheth to deny ungodlineſs and worldly luſts; and to live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly in this preſent world.* And although eſteemed a fool as to the wiſdom that is from beneath, he was richly repleniſhed with that *wiſdom which is from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle and eaſy to be entreated, without partiality and without hypocriſy; full of mercy, and full of good fruits*; and I am perſuaded many have indulged their pride in ridiculing and cenſuring him, who fall far ſhort of him in ſolid wiſdom and pure virtue.

I have in my hands in manuſcript the teſtimony of a [a] perſon generally allowed to be a very competent judge of men and things, who after remarking that he dared to aſſert the freedom of man againſt the tyranny of cuſtoms, ſprung up in the times of gothic barbariſm and monkiſh ignorance, concludes " I revere " that wiſdom, and that goodneſs, who conde- " ſcended to afford us ſuch an example of pri- " mitive chriſtianity in life, doctrine and con- " verſation, ſo near our own times."

Thomas

[a] J. Fothergill.

CHAP. I.

1690. Thomas Salthouſe.

Thomas Salthouſe was living in Judge Fell's family at the time when George Fox came to Swarthmore, and was convinced by his miniſtry with the greateſt part of that family. And being faithful to conviction, he ſometime afterward received a diſpenſation of the goſpel, and was commiſſioned to preach it to others. In the year 1654 he travelled to London, from whence in company with Miles Halhead he went to Briſtol; and thence weſtward towards Exeter: But numbers being diſcontented at this time with Oliver Cromwell's uſurpation of the government, encouraged the party called cavaliers to attempt an inſurrection in the weſt, which was ſoon quaſhed; and guards being placed in theſe parts to take up ſuch as were ſuſpected to be aſſiſtant therein, when theſe friends reached Honiton, they were taken up and brought before Colonel Copleſton, high ſheriff of the county, on ſuſpicion of being cavaliers, and of being concerned in the inſurrection: And though upon examining them, he owned he believed them clear, he impriſoned them, and ſent them away with a paſs as vagrants, [b] which is already related, together with their ſucceeding impriſonment by the procurement of George Brooks. After their releaſe they went to their habitations in the north; but [c]Thomas Salthouſe, in 1656, travelling again in the work of the miniſtry returned into the weſtern counties, and continued ſome time in that quarter, in the exerciſe of his gift, in the courſe whereof he was taken from a meeting at [d] Thomas Budd's at Martock in Somerſetſhire, and committed

[b] See vol. i. p. 207, 208, 209. [c] J. Whiting, J. Beſſe, vol. i. p. 578, &c. [d] See vol. i. p. 267.

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committed by Robert Hunt and John Cary to Ivelcheſter jail, as a dangerous, wandering and idle perſon, till the quarter ſeſſions, where the juſtices tendered him the oath of abjuration, for his refuſal whereof they fined him 5l. and remanded him to priſon till he ſhould pay it, where he continued a priſoner about a year.

After his releaſe he proſecuted his travels for promoting religion and righteouſneſs in different parts of the nation; and in 1660 returned again into the weſt, and was again impriſoned at Ivelcheſter in the 11th month that year, together with his companion John Scaiſe, and many others; at the enſuing aſſizes at Chard, the greateſt part of their fellow priſoners were releaſed, but theſe two and a few more were detained till the enſuing ſeſſions; at which the reſt were diſcharged; but the court required ſureties of Thomas Salthouſe and John Scaife for their going home, the former into Lancaſhire, and the latter into Weſtmoreland, and for their coming no more into Somerſetſhire for three years; terms which they could not comply with: Wherefore Thomas Salthouſe was ſent back to priſon, and John Scaife to the houſe of correction as a vagabond. They were detained till the latter end of the third month, and then enlarged upon the king's proclamation for ſetting the Quakers at liberty. [c] He was again taken up with Thomas Lower, on account of an inſurrection in the month of October the ſame year; but after a long examination and a detention of three days, being found innocent, they were diſcharged.

After

[c] J. Whiting, p. 215.

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After a conſiderable portion of his life ſpent between travelling and labouring for the promotion of truth, and ſuffering for his teſtimony thereto, he married in Cornwall, and ſettled his habitation at the town called St. Auſtel in that county. Yet continued in frequent viſits to different parts of the nation, in the exerciſe of his miniſtry; and although he eſcaped impriſonment for ſome time after this, he did not eſcape out of the reach of the informers, when they were ſet to work; for in the 12th month 1681 was the funeral of Benjamin Growden, a man well beloved of his neighbours, many of whom attending his funeral, [f] Thomas Salthouſe addreſſed them in a brief exhortation ſuitable to the occaſion, i. e. to ſeriouſneſs and ſobriety, reminding them of the certainty of death and judgment, and a retribution according to their works, &c. This exhortation he delivered in the open burying place at Tregangreves, to an audience of many good chriſtians, loyal ſubjects, and profeſſors of the proteſtant religion as by law eſtabliſhed. On ſuch an occaſion, and to ſuch an aſſembly, one would ſcarce expect, that reminding men of their mortality, and inciting them to prepare for death, could have been liable to the penalties of any law: Yet upon the oath of two informers, who were there watching for their prey, ſeveral of thoſe preſent were convicted unheard, and fined for a conventicle by three juſtices, Sir Joſeph Tredenham, Joſeph Sawle, and William Mohun, amongſt whom Thomas Salthouſe was fined 20l. for preaching: For which ſhortly after goods were taken out of his ſhop to

[f] Beſſe, vol. i. p. 123.

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the value of 29l. 9s. 9d. He was again committed to Launceſton jail, and with ſeveral others for declining to take an oath was brought to the aſſizes in the 6th month 1683, where the oath was again tendered them in open court, and upon conviction of refuſing it, ſentence of premunire was paſſed upon them, under which they were detained in priſon near three years, till they were diſcharged by king James's general pardon.

After his releaſe from this his laſt impriſonment he continued his viſits to his friends, as he felt the draft of duty and brotherly affection exciting him thereto; till a period was put to all his labours and ſufferings by his removal out of this life, which happened in the 12th month 1690, at his houſe in Cornwall, about the 60th year of his age.

He was a man of a good natural capacity, and adorned with an excellent gift in the miniſtry; remarkably affable and pleaſant in his converſation, which procured him the reſpectful regard of many others as well as friends. [a] He wrote ſome notable tracts and divers excellent epiſtles to friends, and is no doubt at reſt from his labours, and his works follow him.

[a] J. Whiting.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

IRELAND.

Friends in Ireland recommended a Collection for their ſuffering Brethren in England.—Account of Thomas Carleton.—James Barry calumniates the People called Quakers, and being deſired to give them a Meeting evades it.—W. Edmundſon warns his Friends of an approaching Day of trial.—The Earl of Tyrconnel diſarms the Proteſtants—Many of whom flee to England.—The Natives ſpirited to Inſolence.—W. Edmundſon and others abuſed by Troopers.—A Maſſacre apprehended.—W. Edmundſon and two of his Neighbours go to Dublin to complain of theſe Abuſes.—Tyrconnel reluctant to hear them.—They apply to Colonel Ruſſel, Lord Granard and Lord Mountjoy.

CHAP. II.

1684.

Friends in Ireland recommend a collection for the relief of thoſe in England.

FRIENDS in Ireland ſtill appear leſs liable to ſufferings than their brethren in England, their principal ſufferings being for the non-payment of tithes, and the unreaſonable coſts of recovery in the biſhop's courts; on which occaſion they petitioned the lord lieutenant and council: But this people being as yet much expoſed to great ſufferings in England by the rapacity of the informers and otherwiſe, furniſhed a freſh inſtance of the ſympathetic concern and mutual benevolence, which prevailed amongſt them, as members of

CHAP. II. 1684.

one family all the world over; their brethren in Ireland underſtanding that many had been by the ravages of theſe informers, and penalties ſeverely inflicted upon them for their religious teſtimonies, reduced to neceſſitous and diſtreſſed circumſtances, took their ſuffering caſe into conſideration at their national meeting this year, and recommended a collection towards their relief, to be made by friends in the ſeveral provinces.

Account of Thomas Carleton.

This year died at Ballinacarrick, county Wicklow, Thomas Carleton, a native of Cumberland, where he was convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers, and joined them in ſociety, after paſſing through many ſpiritual conflicts, of which the reader may find a clear account, written by himſelf, in Rutty's hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of this people in Ireland, to which, to avoid unneceſſary prolixity, I refer.

He removed to reſide in Ireland about the year 1673, was a man of greater abilities than many others, of a good underſtanding and clear diſcernment, yet of an humble ſpirit, ready to prefer others before himſelf. As a member of religious community, he was circumſpect and exemplary in his converſation, zealous and diligent for keeping good order therein; he was an able miniſter, being endowed with a divine gift to miniſter from; whereby he was inſtrumental both to convince ſtrangers, and to confirm, edify and provoke to diligence thoſe who were already convinced: He was alſo well qualified to exerciſe his pen in aſſerting and defending the principles of his profeſſion againſt its opponents; and patient in ſuffering for them, as appears from a tract he publiſhed while a priſoner in Carliſle jail for tithe, entitled "The captives complaint,

"or

" or the priſoners plea againſt the burdenſome " and contentious title of tithes," wherein are laid down the ſeveral reaſons againſt the propriety of paying tithes in this evangelical day and diſpenſation. He publiſhed ſome other ſmall tracts, particularly an excellent general epiſtle of admonition and advice to friends in Ireland and elſewhere. CHAP. II. 1685.

In conſequence of the prohibition iſſued by the government of Ireland laſt year but one, the other bodies of diſſenters deſerted their meeting-houſes, and met more privately: But the people called Quakers in this nation, like their brethren in England, continued their public meetings, both for the worſhip of God, and thoſe for diſcipline, wherein being ſtrengthened and comforted, they were favoured with the encreaſe of peace in themſelves, and near unity one with another. Their public meetings were crouded by the reſort of numbers of other ſocieties, with many of whom their innocent fortitude, in openly bearing their teſtimony to the propriety of meeting to worſhip the Almighty, according to the perſuaſion of their conſciences, had gained them a good report. While ſome of the other ſocieties of diſſenters, who abſconded, or met in private, ſuffered their minds to be filled with envy and prejudice againſt them, principally becauſe they would not deſert their publick aſſemblies, as themſelves had done.

Among the reſt, one James Barry, an independent preacher in Dublin, publiſhed many accuſations and groundleſs calumnies againſt this people, upon hearing thereof, ſome of them applied to him, to give them a public meeting, in order to make good his charges, or furniſh them with a fair

James Barry calumniating friends and deſired to give them a meeting, evades it.

CHAP. II. 1685.

a fair opportunity of clearing themſelves; but he made many excuſes, would not give them an hearing, and notwithſtanding continued his railings againſt them; by which conduct, inſtead of gaining his ends, in depriving them of any part of that eſtimation which they had obtained in the opinion of the public, he preached away many of his own hearers, who, like the noble Bereans, came to friends meetings to ſatisfy themſelves whether theſe reflections were true or no; and by the miniſtry of John Burnyeat and others, their prejudices were removed; they were convinced, joined themſelves to, and became afterwards very ſerviceable members of, the ſociety.

At this time the government having made choice of ſome friends to ſerve in offices in corporations, and to act as magiſtrates, and ſome few having accepted thereof, though it was not of their own ſeeking, a paper of tender advice was drawn up by order of a general meeting, to thoſe friends who had engaged in theſe offices, to act conſcientiouſly in every ſtation; to ſhine as lights in the world, and be punctual in diſtributing juſtice with impartiality.

William Edmundſon warns friends of an approaching day of trial.

William Edmundſon, after his return from America, and ſome ſtay at home, renewed his travels in various parts of this nation, in the exerciſe of his miniſtry. In his progreſs in which ſervice, his ſpirit was deeply affected with an humbling ſenſe of great afflictions and trials approaching, which would try the inhabitants of the land; when the carcaſſes of men would be ſpread on the earth as dung; under the impreſſion whereof he plainly warned friends and others, in many public meetings, and adviſed his

his friends particularly to contract their concerns in the world, that they might be prepared to receive the Lord in his judgments that were at hand, and to flee to him for ſuccour, that they might find refuge in his protection. CHAP. II. 1685.

And the times ſoon after began to look gloomy and threatening to the proteſtants of this nation, in a much greater degree than in England. The Earl of Clarendon, although the king's brother-in-law, had been removed from the ſtation of lord lieutenant to make way for the Earl of Tyrconnel, who, from his firſt advancement to this office, ſeemed determined, by the moſt arbitrary and undiſguiſed meaſures, to humble the proteſtant ſubjects; deſtroy their intereſt, power and property in the nation; and transfer them into the hands of the popiſh inhabitants; and to eſtabliſh his deſpotic government over the heads of the former, he diſarmed them, and modelled and compoſed an army chiefly of the latter; ſo that the leading men among the proteſtants, and many others of all ranks, recollecting the cruelties of the Iriſh in the maſſacre of 1641, which many ſtill living could remember, and others had heard diſmal accounts of from their parents, being terrified at the proſpect of the inſecurity of their perſons and properties, and dreading the repetition of the former barbarities, fled to England for ſafety, leaving their poſſeſſions open to the invaſion of their enemies [s]. 1686. Earl of Tyrconnel diſarms the proteſtants. Many proteſtants flee to England.

Every ſucceeding ſeaſon preſented a ſucceſſion of terrors and injuries to the proteſtants, and encreaſed the number of refugees. Tyrconnel proceeded with precipitancy and violence in eſtabliſhing 1687.

[s] W. Edmundſon's journal.

CHAP. II. 1687.

eſtabliſhing the civil government, as well as the military power in the hands of the Romaniſts; they were put in poſſeſſion of the council table, the courts of Judicature and bench of juſtice—the charters of Dublin and all the corporations were recalled—proteſtant freemen expelled, Roman catholicks introduced, and the latter ſect, who were the majority in number, were now inveſted with the whole power of the kingdom [h].

The natives ſpirited to inſolence.

By this partiality of the government in their favour, the natives of the lower claſſes, aſſumed a ſpirit of inſolence and abuſe, to the encreaſing the terror of the diſarmed proteſtants, who ſaw no ſafety but in exile or the ſhelter of fortreſſes.

William Edmundſon among others was a great ſufferer at this time, who, although an inoffenſive man, and principled againſt taking up arms; yet being much reſpected by, and looked upon as an eminent man among the proteſtants, in the neighbourhood of his reſidence, a man of fortitude, and one, who, having frequently made applications to government in favour of his friends, was known and reſpected by ſeveral of the leading men on both ſides, and was now very ſerviceable in like applications on behalf of his proteſtant neighbours, was marked out as an object of abuſe in this unſettled time. A party of Sir Maurice Euſtace's troopers came into their parts, and committed many violent abuſes upon ſeveral proteſtants in, and about, Mountmelick. Some of them came to William's houſe, and made him a ſharer in their injurious treatment, taking him by the hair of the head, and dragging

William Edmundſon and others abuſed by troopers.

[h] Hume.

ging him about the yard amongſt their horſes feet, without the leaſt provocation; ſome with clubs, and others with piſtols cocked, *ſwore they would kill him;* upon hearing which, his wife was ſo terrified, that ſhe deſired them, *to take all they had, ſo that they would ſpare her huſband's life.* Report went to Mountmelick that William Edmundſon was killed, which made the inhabitants of that town conclude that a general maſſacre of the proteſtants was determined upon, being perſuaded William Edmundſon would give them no occaſion. Many of the proteſtants fled in conſternation to the bogs and woods to conceal themſelves.

A maſſacre apprehended.

After theſe troopers were gone off, William went next morning to Mountmelick to confer with the principal inhabitants, who had not fled, who were glad to ſee him alive, but ſeemed of the opinion, that this violent treatment of proteſtants was a forerunner of a maſſacre. William was of a different ſentiment, apprehending it was rather with deſign to alarm and terrify all the Engliſh ſettlers, to induce them to flee to England, that they might get the country and all their ſubſtance to themſelves, than any intention of a maſſacre. He adviſed them to take full examinations of the abuſes, and petition the government; and thereby they might probably make ſome diſcovery of their intentions. His propoſal being approved, he was deſired to undertake the journey, as none elſe durſt. Although he was ſenſible of the jeopardy attendant upon the undertaking, as at the hazard of his life; yet perceiving it might be conducive to the general ſecurity of that neighbourhood, he aſſumed his uſual courage, to riſque his life for the good of his countrymen.

W. Edmundſon with two of his neighbours go to Dublin, to lay theſe abuſes before government.

He

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He pitched upon two of the townſmen to accompany him, who aſſented, and next day taking their journey by an unuſual road, for fear of being way-laid, they arrived ſafely in Dublin.

Tyrconnel hears their complaint reluctantly.

W. E. having an intereſt with Lord Chief Juſtice Nugent, by his interference procured an audience of Tyrconnel, who appeared to hear his complaint with reluctance, and gave him little encouragement to expect redreſs from him. Not diſcouraged by his cool reception here, he reſolved to proſecute the matter to the utmoſt; and with his companions (whoſe complaints Tyrconnel would not even hear) waited upon Colonel Ruſſel, who was colonel of the regiment to which theſe troopers belonged, and gave him a relation of the abuſes they had committed, and the general conſternation of the Engliſh inhabitants. He, who was a proteſtant, ſeemed alarmed at the report, and expreſſed his apprehenſions, that, "If ſuch proceedings met not with exemplary puniſhment, it was time for every man "to look to himſelf;" but he would go to the Duke, and remonſtrate againſt the iniquity of ſuch proceedings *. They applied next to Lord Granard, the lieutenant general, who upon hearing their account, in great diſſatisfaction remarked, that *he was general and no general*; and determined alſo to remonſtrate to the Lord Lieutenant Tyrconnel upon the ſubject. They applied alſo to Lord Mountjoy, and others of the principal men among the proteſtants. By theſe ſucceſſive applications, the rumour of theſe proceedings ſpread; and Tyrconnel ſending for

They wait upon Col. Ruſſel, Lord Granard, and Lord Mountjoy.

William,

* Colonel Ruſſel ſoon after went over to England.

1687.

William, ſeemed diſpleaſed, and ſaid, *They had made a great noiſe in the city*, and wanted to know, *If they had witneſſes ready*, to which William replied in the affirmative. They were then referred to Lord Chief Juſtice Nugent, before whom they appeared next morning, as did alſo Sir M. Euſtace and the troopers, who being examined, all denied the fact. William then being aſked, if he knew any of them that had abuſed him, challenged one, who confeſſed; and then the officer, who headed the party, was ordered to diſcover the reſt, which he did; upon this they were diſarmed, and ſent to Maryborough jail. William and his companions, apprehending they had diſcovered their real intention, returned home. Afterwards, at their requeſt, William forgave the troopers, and procured their horſes and arms to be returned to them.

They are referred to the Chief Juſtice Nugent, by whom the troopers are committed to jail.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Act of Settlement repealed.—King James lands in Ireland, which becomes the Seat of War.—The People called Quakers keep their Habitations and Meetings in the Midſt of Danger.—National Meeting 3mo, O. S. now 5mo.—Ditto 9mo, now 11mo.—The Citizens of Londonderry ſhut their Gates againſt King James's Army.—The War breaking out, Friends (with others) expoſed to great Injury and Hardſhip.—An Army arrives from England.—Battle of the Boyne.—King James leaves the Kingdom.—Parties of the Iriſh Army cruelly plunder the Proteſtants.—William Edmundſon propoſeth to his Iriſh Neighbours an Interchange of good Offices—Which he maketh good on his part, notwithſtanding their Inſincerity.—King William publiſheth a general Proclamation of Pardon.

CHAP. III. 1689.

THAT William Edmundſon's conjecture was well-grounded appeared manifeſt by the proceedings of the parliament, which was afterwards ſummoned by King James to meet in Dublin. One of their firſt meaſures was to repeal the act of ſettlement, by which the proteſtants of the kingdom had been ſecured in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates; and the bill was ſo ſeverely framed, that no regard was paid to ſuch proteſtant owners, as had purchaſed eſtates for valuable conſiderations; no allowance was made for improvements, nor any proviſion for proteſtant widows; the poſſeſſor

Act of ſettlement repealed.

CHAP. III. 1689.

poſſeſſor or tenants were not even allowed to remove their ſtock and corn. They alſo paſſed an act of attainder againſt all the proteſtants, who were abſent from the kingdom, and againſt all thoſe who ſhould retire to any part of the three kingdoms, which did not own the authority of King James. By theſe two acts they had gained the point in view, by ſtripping the proteſtants preſent and abſent of all their property, and taking it into their own poſſeſſion, if they could have retained power to ſecure it [a].

King James lands in Ireland, which becomes the ſeat of war.

The late King James upon his deſertion of England retired to France, where he was very cordially and hoſpitably received by Lewis XIV. who alſo aſſiſted him with ſome forces and a conſiderable number of officers; arms for the uſe of his numerous adherents in Ireland; a large ſum of money; a fleet and tranſport ſhips to land them there, which was effected in the firſt month of this year; and in conſequence thereof, this nation becoming the theatre of a war, threatening the utter ruin of all the Engliſh proteſtants, encreaſed the number of refugees into England or into garriſons. But through all, the people called Quakers generally kept their habitations, and kept up their religious meetings, placing their confidence in divine protection, ſurrounded as they were with perils on every hand. For they were not only expoſed to the depredations of ſoldiers, permitted to live upon free quarter, and countenanced by their officers to be very abuſive; but to the more ſavage devaſtations and cruelties of armed bodies of banditti, under no reſtraint or diſcipline, termed tories and rapparees,

The people called Quakers keep their habitations and meetings in the midſt of danger.

[a] Smollet.

CHAP. III.

rees, who infeſted every quarter of the nation, plundering and burning all before them.

1689.

Notwithſtanding the imminent danger of travelling in a nation thus circumſtanced, yet ſuch was the zeal of friends at this time for the diſcharge of their religious duties, and for their own edification, and growth in religious experience, and ſuch their faith and confidence in the protection of divine providence, that all the terrifying proſpects and impending dangers could not prevent them, from reſorting from the different parts of the kingdom to the national meeting in Dublin in the third month this year, even at the hazard of their lives.

National meeting, 3 mo.

The principal buſineſs, which engaged the deliberations of the preſent and ſucceeding national meeting, was the diſtreſſed condition of their brethren through the nation, and the ordering of convenient ſupplies proportioned to their neceſſities. They received accounts of the ſufferings of friends in ſeveral parts of the nation by robberies and ſpoils by ſoldiers and others, and the loſſes ſuſtained by friends of the province of Leinſter appeared to be above 900l. Hereupon friends made application to King James, who received them kindly, and promiſed that they ſhould be protected [b] *.

At

[b] Rutty.

* Dublin the 13th of 3d month, 1689.

Our half-year's meeting is over, where were aſſembled many friends and brethren from divers parts of the nation, according to our uſual manner. We enjoy our meetings peaceably and quiet generally over the nation, and in moſt places our meetings are large, and many people come in; and all people have their liberty in the free exerciſe of their conſciences in matters of

CHAP. III.

1689. Half-year's meeting, 9mo.

At the ſucceeding half year's meeting in the ninth month, it appeared, that the loſſes of friends being ſtill continued and encreaſed, thoſe of the friends of Leinſter and Munſter amounted to above 7000l. No account appears in my author from Ulſter, which I apprehend, being now the ſeat of war, muſt have been the moſt conſiderable, but that friends, as well as other inhabitants, were too much alarmed and diſtreſſed to find leiſure to keep and return regular accounts of their ſufferings, though many of them were ſpoiled of all their ſubſtance[c] *.

After

of religion; and as for friends and truth, they are in good eſteem both with high and low. The Lord's care and mercy over us hath been largely manifeſt, and friends do learn great experience of the preſervation of the mighty arm of the Lord in this great day of trial, which is upon this nation; yet to our joy and comfort friends are carried over it in the faith of the Son of God, and have been preſerved miraculouſly, even beyond our expectation in ſeveral places, where their trials have been very great, and the dangers, as to appearances, dreadful; yet friends have kept to their habitations, truſting in the Lord, and following their lawful concerns and buſineſs.

At this half-year's meeting our hearts were made more than ordinarily glad to ſee one another's faces in ſuch a time as this, and the Lord's power and preſence was with us, that crowns our meetings; and in the ſenſe and ſweetneſs of the ſame are the moſt of our friends and brethren this day gone towards their outward beings in the peace of God, and in great love and unity, which did preciouſly abound amongſt us in this our meeting throughout all our concerns and affairs.——*Extract of a letter from John Burnyeat.*

[c] Rutty.

* At Cavan (a place that lay open to both armies and to the cruelty of the rapparees) ſeveral friends kept their habitations, and held their uſual meetings; and though ſometimes in ſkirmiſhes between the two armies many were ſlain, their lives

CHAP. III. 1689.

After King James's arrival in Dublin, and eſtabliſhing a more orderly government, than had ſubſiſted there for ſome time before, the proteſtants became better ſettled in their minds, and their fears of a maſſacre began to die away; but they were ſtill expoſed to great devaſtation, their ſtock and cattle being moſtly taken away from them or killed; friends were obnoxious to theſe depredations in common with other proteſtants.

James was in Ireland at the head of a conſiderable army, and he and his partiſans poſſeſſed of the whole power and command of the nation for ſeveral months, before any forces arrived from England to give them oppoſition: But on the firſt alarm of an intended maſſacre, the proteſtants of Londonderry had ſhut their gates, and reſolved to defend themſelves againſt the Lord Lieutenant, being at their requeſt ſupplied with ſome arms and ammunition from England; and the proteſtants in other parts of the province of Ulſter, which had ſuffered moſt ſeverely in the maſſacre of 1641, who retained the deepeſt impreſſions of terror and reſentment, ſeemed reſolved to prepare for their own defence againſt the repetition of ſuch inhuman barbarities, as they recollected, or had heard, were then exerciſed by the mercileſs natives on their cotemporaries or predeceſſors. In order to quaſh this inſurrection, the army was put in motion to march to the North, which now being likely to become a ſcene of war and devaſtation; William Edmundſon, in company

The proteſtants of Londonderry reſolve to defend themſelves, and ſhut the gates.

lives were wonderfully preſerved; but of their ſubſtance they were ſpoiled and entirely ſtripped, and at laſt commanded by the chief officer of the Iriſh army to quit their habitations, and their houſes were ſet on fire.

pany with ſome friends of Dublin (from the impulſe of that univerſal fraternal regard, which ſubſiſted amongſt the members of this ſociety at this time) was zealouſly concerned to uſe all his and their intereſt and influence with the chief officers to ſpare and protect their friends, who were not in arms, and many of them promiſed they would, and performed their promiſes.

The war breaking out, friends with others expoſed to great loſs and hardſhip.

As the ſtorm of war gathered, the calamities of the peaceable inhabitants, in which number are compriſed the people called Quakers, encreaſed. The rapparees on one hand plundered many of the Engliſh without mercy, and on the other hand, the army marching, and being quartered upon them, took from them what they pleaſed; the proteſtant families were but as ſervants to wait upon them, and dreſs them what proviſions their houſes afforded, ſo that, between the one and the other, the melancholy proſpect of famine for themſelves ſeemed moſt they had to look for.

An army arrives from England.

At length an army from England arrived, under the command of Duke Schomberg; but the ill ſucceſs of the campaign, and the miſerable ſituation of the Iriſh proteſtants, determined King William to take the command upon himſelf, and attempt their relief. He landed at Carrickfergus in the ſummer 1690, marched forward without much delay, and came in view of King James's army, which had taken an advantageous poſt on the banks of the Boyne to diſpute the paſſage of that river; but the Engliſh army having made good their paſſage, attacked the Iriſh, and put them to flight.

Battle of the Boyne.

[a] William Edmundſon's Journal.

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1690. King James leaves the kingdom.

King James immediately after this battle made a precipitate retreat by Dublin to Waterford, and from thence embarked for France. He had no ſooner quitted Dublin, than it was abandoned by the papiſts in authority under him, whereby the civil government was deſerted; and although meaſures were taken by the biſhops of Meath and Limerick to ſecure the peace of the city, and King William's ſpeedy arrival there ſecured it, yet anarchy overſpread the country, and left the defenceleſs inhabitants expoſed to greater danger and damage in many parts than ever.

The people called Quakers having generally kept their habitations, as before obſerved, while they had any to dwell in, were deep ſharers in the calamities attendant upon this war. Thoſe ſuffered by William Edmundſon are perhaps as ſevere as moſt, at leaſt of them we have the moſt particular account in the journal of his life, written by himſelf, from whom, as a man of indiſputable veracity and an eye-witneſs, I have principally deduced my relation of the ſtate of this nation in this diſtreſſing ſeaſon; and the relation of his particular ſufferings exhibits a lively deſcription of the violence of injury, abuſe and cruelty, which afflicted the proteſtants and Engliſh ſettlers during theſe times of tumult and civil war.

Inflexible virtue generally procures reſpect and confidence. William Edmundſon's proteſtant neighbours being moſtly driven by violence from their dwellings, took ſhelter under his roof, until every room was full, and brought their cattle which had eſcaped rapine to his land as to a place of greateſt ſafety; but after the battle

battle of the Boyne, parties of the Iriſh army diſperſing through the country with their hoſtile diſpoſition and rivetted averſion to the Engliſh, aggravated by their late diſappointment and defeat, ſet no bounds to their plundering and cruelty; ſo that the proteſtants in thoſe parts, after loſing moſt if not all of their property, were forced to take ſanctuary in the neighbouring pariſh church (ſo called) at Roſenallis, and other places more ſecure than private dwellings, to ſave their lives. For it was now out of William Edmundſon's power to protect them or himſelf from rapacity or violence. He ſaith, "They plundered my houſe ſeveral times over, "and we were in jeopardy of our lives, for "they were wicked and blood-thirſty." In this extremity of danger his family were forced to go out of the way, and his wife was earneſt in her ſolicitations for him to go aſide alſo, leſt he ſhould fall a ſacrifice to their inſatiable vengeance, being willing to venture her own life to ſave his; but he had not freedom to leave his habitation, although now ſtaying there at the riſque of his life. Yet through the protection of providence their lives were preſerved, but they loſt all their houſhold furniture, which the pillagers could find, and thought worth carrying away, and all their horſes that were left.

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1690. Parties of the Iriſh army cruelly plunder the proteſtants.

Now violence was let looſe without reſtraint; no power to controul, no government they could apply to for redreſs. The ſtraggling parties of the Iriſh army, the bands of robbers, and perſons diſaffected to King William, gave the full ſwing to their vindictive tempers and avaricious rapine; whilſt the remaining proteſtants, defenceleſs and unprotected, had only to

CHAP. III. 1690.

ſubmit in ſilent ſorrow; for it was a conſiderable time before any of the Engliſh army came into this quarter to protect them, and when they came were not very active in their protection.

W. Edmundſon propoſeth to the Iriſh reſident in his neighbourhood an interchange of good offices,

In this emergency William Edmundſon applied to the principal perſons amongſt the Iriſh in their neighbourhood who ſtaid at home, deſiring them to recollect that they [and the proteſtants] had lived together as peaceable neighbours, and wiſhed they might do ſo ſtill: Though at preſent the Engliſh in this neighbourhood lay expoſed to the ſpoil of their countrymen, yet they might eaſily foreſee it would ſoon be like to come to their turn to be obnoxious to ſimilar ſufferings; for the Engliſh army being maſters in the field would ſoon advance, and probably revenge the wrongs of their countrymen upon them. He therefore propoſed to them a mutual interchange of good offices towards each other with their reſpective parties; that they ſhould exert their endeavours to prevail upon their countrymen to deſiſt from robbing the Engliſh of the little they had left; and that when the Engliſh army advanced, the Engliſh proteſtants ſhould uſe their influence and intereſt with them in their favour. This propoſal they ſeemed gladly to accept, and promiſed with many oaths firmly to adhere to it on their parts. But their promiſes and oaths appear to have been only a cloak of deceit; no check was given to the nocturnal depredations of the rapparees, ſcarce a night paſſing but ſome of the Engliſh neighbours were robbed and wounded; and when William Edmundſon remonſtrated to them, and reminded them of the

which they ſeem chearfully to accept, but are inſincere.

the obligation of their ſacred promiſe, a deceitful plea of ignorance was all the ſatiſfaction he got. CHAP. III.

1690. W. Edmundſon notwithſtanding endeavours to ſerve the Iriſh.

William Edmundſon, actuated by the benevolent principles of true chriſtianity, which inſtruct us to love them that hate us, and do good to them that deſpitefully uſe and perſecute us, did not look upon the violation of good faith in the Iriſh as any plea to juſtify him in the like practice. The moſt conſiderable family of the Iriſh in that neighbourhood was thoſe of the name of Dunn, who being a powerful family among the natives, had they acted ſincerely, might, it is thought, have prevented much of the miſchief perpetrated in that quarter; but there ſeemed reaſon to ſuſpect they encouraged it underhand, and ſhared in the ſpoil. King William, ſoon after his entrance into Dublin, publiſhed a proclamation of pardon to all the common people, who had ſerved againſt him, and declared that the Iriſh and others, who would live peaceably at home, ſhould not be moleſted; notwithſtanding which, as parties of the Scots and Engliſh advanced, they did retaliate upon them. Two captains with a body of near three hundred ſoldiers came into the neighbourhood of Mountmelick, drove off abundance of cattle, and took ſome priſoners, amongſt whom was William Dunn and two of his ſons, one of whom they had ſtripped in order to hang him, under ſuſpicion of his being a rapparee. In this reverſe of their circumſtances the Dunns ſent with all expedition to William Edmundſon, to requeſt his interpoſition, who immediately mounted his horſe, rode after, and overtook the party. He reaſoned cloſely with the officers, as the perſons that muſt anſwer for the violation

King William publiſhes a general proclamation of pardon.

of

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of the king's late proclamation, and for the reflection, which the permitting the army to plunder, would bring upon his honour, and that of the Engliſh nation. By his reaſoning he prevailed upon the captains to relinquiſh the prey, if the ſoldiers could be brought to conſent. Theſe were greatly enraged, and ready to put all the Iriſh to the ſword; yet William at the hazard of his own life, by venturing amongſt them while exaſperated at the thoughts of loſing their booty, ſo patiently reaſoned the matter as, with the captains aſſiſtance, to prevail upon them to give up the greateſt part of their prey. He alſo obtained the releaſe of Dunn and his ſons, with all their cattle.

It was not on this occaſion only, but as often as exigency required, that he was ready to interpoſe his good offices in favour of his Iriſh neighbours. He often interceded with the Engliſh ſoldiers to give back the cattle they had taken, and perſuaded them to return part at leaſt, or bought them with his own money at a low price, and returned them to the owners. He let their horſes graze on his land, to ſkreen them from plunder. One might naturally imagine, that ſuch acts of extraordinary kindneſs would produce ſenſations of reſpect and gratitude in the moſt ſavage tempers, but it had not that effect upon thoſe bigots; they were as ungrateful for the good offices done them, as they were faithleſs in the performance of thoſe, which they had ſolemnly promiſed to do; and the only advantage William Edmundſon reaped by his well-meant exertions to ſerve them lay in the conſciouſneſs of acting from the pureſt motives.

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CHAP. IV.

The Iriſh Army left under no ſtrict Diſcipline plunder the Country.—The Half-year's Meeting held in courſe, notwithſtanding the perilous Seaſon.—Friends in England contribute to the Relief of their ſuffering Friends in Ireland.—William Edmundſon plundered.—The Times look more threatening, yet he is not free to leave his Habitation.—Colonel Bierly ſolicited for Protection, but treats the Solicitation with Neglect.—William Edmundſon's Houſe burned, and himſelf and his Sons taken Priſoners, and ſentenced to be put to death.—William Dunn takes them from the Rapparees to carry them to Athlone, where they are in danger from the Populace.—Brought before Colonel Grace, who releaſes them upon parole, ſhortly after which they are ſet at liberty.—William Edmundſon's Wife ſtripped by Rapparees, contracts a Cold, from which ſhe never recovered.—William Edmundſon ſtill in danger.—Account of George Gregſon.—Ditto of John Burnyeat.—Termination of the War.

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1690. The Iriſh army left under no ſtrict diſcipline, plunder the country.

WHEN the campaign was over, the Engliſh army was diſperſed into winter quarters, and the number of rapparees encreaſed greatly. Lauzun, the French general, went back to France with the auxiliaries of that nation, and Tyrconnel along with him, to ſolicit freſh aid. So that their king, their general and their governor

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vernor having left the Iriſh army with arms in their hands, under little or no ſtrict government, they alſo formed themſelves into ſeparate parties of free-booters or rapparees, and burnt and plundered the country without mercy. The Engliſh army in the mean time enjoying their eaſe in their quarters, and not entirely deſiſting from imitating the rapine of the enemy, gave little protection to the defenceleſs proteſtants, who were now more dreadfully harraſſed, terrified and abuſed than before. This winter proved the accumulation of their ſorrows.

The half-year's meeting held in courſe, notwithſtanding the perilous ſeaſon.

The half-year's national meeting of the people called Quakers at Dublin approached, and was held as uſual in the ninth month (November) of this year, to which friends from the ſundry quarters of the nation reſorted with their uſual zeal and diligence, amidſt ſurrounding perils, and were uncommonly refreſhed together, under an humbling ſenſe of thankfulneſs to that divine power which had graciouſly preſerved their lives through ſo many dangers, and given them this renewed opportunity of rejoicing in ſeeing one another's faces again in ſafety, of ſtrengthening the bonds of goſpel fellowſhip, of enquiring into and receiving intelligence of the ſtate and neceſſities of their brethren in the different quarters of the nation, and raiſing ſupplies to the utmoſt of their ability; but through the repeated loſſes they had ſuſtained by continual depredations, numbers who before were in affluent or comfortable circumſtances were reduced to penury themſelves. Yet thoſe who reſided in Dublin and other places garriſoned with the Engliſh eſcaped better; and it appears probable they were in a capacity to ſpare ſome

of

of their ſubſtance for the relief of the ſufferers, and with this people the extenſion of relief to their friends and others generally accompanied the capacity to do it.

As early as the half-year's meeting in 9mo laſt year, the meeting for ſufferings in London, feeling for the diſtreſſes of their friends in Ireland, had commenced a correſpondence to enquire into their ſtate, and offer them their brotherly aſſiſtance, as far as occaſion might require. The ſaid half-year's meeting, in reply, acknowledged their tender care, but at that time declined the acceptance of their friendly offer; the ſeveral provinces being as yet, notwithſtanding their loſſes, in a condition to adminiſter the neceſſary relief; but through the continued loſs of their ſubſtance, and general impoveriſhment of the members of this ſociety, by the violence of rapine, they found themſelves under the neceſſity of accepting the benevolence of their brethren in England; they drew firſt for 600l. and afterwards friends of England remitted 150l. for the relief of friends of Ulſter; and 1060l. more was ſent from London, which in 1692 was diſtributed proportionably to each province. A letter was then ſent to friends of London, acknowledging their brotherly kindneſs, and deſiring them to ſtop any further remittances, hoping upon the re-ſettlement of the nation in peace, to be able amongſt themſelves to contribute ſufficiently to the future neceſſities of friends in their nation. So great and ſo univerſal was the near and ſympathizing affection ſubſiſting between the members of this ſociety, that even from friends of Barbadoes 100l. was

Friends in England contribute to the relief of their ſuffering brethren in Ireland.

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was remitted for the relief of their brethren in Ireland, under their diſtreſſing ſufferings.

1690.

By means of theſe aids, and by the protection of divine providence, the friends in Ireland were moſtly enabled to weather out the ſtorm, which ſeemed now at the height. William Edmundſon, during his attendance on the half-year's meeting, received intelligence that the rapparees had carried off about twenty of his cows, but that none of his family had received any hurt. As ſoon as the meeting was over, returning home, he had the ſatisfaction to find his wife and family well; but the times looked ſtill more gloomy and threatening; ſpoil and cruelty encreaſed; but although imminent dangers ſurrounded theſe parts, he durſt not remove to a place of greater ſafety. He was apprehenſive that his removal might diſcourage his friends and proteſtant neighbours, and perhaps induce them to flee from their habitations, and thereby be in danger of periſhing through want. But although he had the faith to believe that one hair of his head would not fall without the permiſſion of divine providence, his ſtay with them was to be but ſhort.

W. Edmundſon plundered.

The times more threatening, yet W. Edmundſon is not free to remove.

Of this he ſeemed to have a foreſight; for on the 23d day of the ſame month, about ten days after his return, he applied to Colonel Bierly, governor of Mountmelick, and told him, if he did not uſe ſome means to ſuccour their quarter it would be to his own great damage, for he expected every night that his houſe would be burnt down; that if he gave way all the proteſtants thereabout would flee; that then the rapparees might burn and deſtroy all the forage

Col. Bierly applied to for protection, which he treats with neglect.

forage in the country, and thereby diſtreſs himſelf and his garriſon. Bierly took little notice of his application, although the occaſion was urgent; for that ſame night William Edmundſon's houſe was beſet by ſeveral hundreds of theſe banditti, while the family were aſleep, who fired vollies of ſhot through the windows, which were heard in Mountmelick, two miles off. Upon this ſeveral of the inhabitants, by whom William was greatly reſpected, waited upon Bierly, deſiring him to order out a party of men to his relief, which he refuſed to grant. Then (as William was informed) a lieutenant applied to him for a party of men, ſaying that William was an honeſt man, and he would relieve him or loſe his life; but Bierly, who would neither take any ſtep to protect a reſpectable inhabitant from danger, nor to relieve him when actually aſſaulted, anſwered the lieutenant, *that he would hang that man, that ſhould ſtir out of the garriſon.* CHAP. IV. 1690.

William Edmundſon's houſe burned, and himſelf and his ſons taken priſoners,

The rapparees having ſet fire to the houſe, William capitulated upon terms, to which they agreed. But he ſurrendered to men, inſenſible to every obligation of religion, conſcience or honour. They firſt fell to pillaging whatever the fire had ſpared or had not reached. They left his wife without ſubſiſtence, having taken every head of cattle they had. They took William and his two ſons priſoners, bare-footed, bare-headed, and almoſt naked. In this condition they took them in the night ſome miles through rough thickets, buſhes, mire and water, up to their knees, although in the winter ſeaſon. Their legs and feet were hereby much hurt and bruiſed. When they came into a neighbouring wood,

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wood, they held a council upon them, and ſentenced William to be ſhot, becauſe he was a ſtout man; and his two ſons to be hanged. William, who was naturally of an undaunted ſpirit, was not afraid to plead his cauſe, even with theſe barbarians. He told them, that many of them knew him and his two ſons alſo, and challenged them to prove that they had wronged any of their countryfolk to the value of one farthing, through all this time of civil diſorder; but on the contrary, that he had exerted himſelf to ſerve and ſave them to the utmoſt of his power; ſometimes with the hazard of his life amongſt the Engliſh ſoldiers. They acknowledged, *They knew him to be an honeſt man:* Notwithſtanding which they hoodwinked his two ſons to put their barbarous deſign in execution, and having two fire-locks prepared to ſhoot them, they went about hoodwinking him alſo; but he told them, *they needed not, for he could look them in the face, and was not afraid to die.*

1690. and ſentenced to be put to death.

But juſt as they were about executing their cruel purpoſe, William Dunn, a lieutenant in the Iriſh army, and ſon to Captain Dunn beforementioned, came up and took them from theſe rapparees, to bring them priſoners to Athlone, the next Iriſh garriſon, about twenty miles diſtant. He expected to make a merit hereof with his ſuperiors, and obtain ſome preferment. After he had detained them three days in a poor cottage in cold and hunger, he marched them to Athlone. On the way they were met by Richard Dunn and his brother-in law, who, though ſo much obliged to William for his friendly ſervices, treated him with railing language; could not repreſs the ſymptoms of their malignant joy

W. Dunn takes them from the rapparees, and carries them to Athlone.

at

at his preſent circumſtances, and in exultation told him they were going to burn Mountmelick, and the reſt of the country that had hitherto eſcaped the flames. William commiſerated his neighbours, but could not help them; but if this was their purpoſe, they were prevented from executing it. 1690.

When they arrived at Athlone, they appeared again in imminent danger of their lives; a great number of the populace and ſoldiers gathered about them, and at their head the high ſheriff of the county, who ſtimulated them to miſchief, by loading theſe inoffenſive perſons with opprobrious epithets, calling them *rebels and traitors*; ſo that it was admirable, that they were not ſtabbed with the bayonets and ſkeins by the ſoldiers and rabble; but that juſt then a perſon of genteel appearance made his way through the crowd, and coming up to William, ſaluted him with reſpect, and vindicated him from the ſheriff's reflections, calling to him aloud, "I have known him above "twenty years, and know him to be an honeſt "man, ſay what you will of him." This intervention of a ſtranger to William, was the means of quieting the evil diſpoſition of the ſheriff and of the crowd, which William eſteemed as help raiſed in their great danger from among themſelves by the direction of divine providence. He underſtood afterwards this man's name was Valentine Toole, a lieutenant in the army, who alſo acquainted William that Dunn had informed againſt him.

At Athlone in danger from the populace.

After ſome little time they were brought up to the caſtle before Colonel Grace, governor of the town, and his council of officers, to be examined, before whom William appearing wrapped up

Brought before Colonel Grace, who releaſeth them on parole, and ſhortly after they get their liberty.

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up in an old blanket (almoſt his only clothing) the colonel, not knowing him in this diſguiſe, enquired of him his name and place of reſidence; to which anſwering, *I am old William Edmundſon*, the colonel, who knew him well, and had been hoſpitably entertained by him, ſtood up, and with tears ſignified his ſorrow to ſee him there in that condition. He then enquired of Dunn what he had againſt him, who advanced ſundry falſe accuſations, which William refuted clearly to the ſatisfaction of the colonel and council. At this the colonel grew angry with Dunn, and expreſſed his reſentment at his treatment of ſo reſpectable a perſon. Dunn now, to excuſe himſelf, ſaid the rapparees were going to hang them, and that he brought them thither to ſave their lives, upon which the governor declared, that if he had them there he would hang them.

At Moate, a few miles from Athlone, lived John Clibborn*, who was not as yet driven from his

* A meeting was ſettled at John Clibborn's, who kept his habitation long in much danger; and the meeting was kept up at this time with great difficulty, lying only ſix miles from Athlone, a chief Iriſh garriſon, and place of refuge for that party, whence ſcouting parties often ſallied to ravage the country, and whither the rapparees uſually carried thoſe captives, whom they were not permitted to murder, as they had done many. Whilſt the ſaid J. Clibborn could keep his houſe, it was an aſylum to friends and others. Amongſt theſe Anthony Robinſon and John Millar, two of this ſociety, who reſided about three miles from Athlone, after they had their houſes plundered, were threatened to be murdered with their families; but were reſcued by a near neighbour, wife to an Iriſh juſtice of peace, who took them into her houſe, and kept them there till the band of robbers grew ſo inſolent and outrageous as to force their way into the houſe after them, inſomuch that deſpairing

his habitation, and hearing of William's captivity in that town, came to ſee him in his deſtitute condition, and ſupply him with proviſions; and afterwards, upon becoming ſurety for his appearance, if called for, obtained the governor's conſent to remove William and his ſons to his houſe upon parole; and ſhortly after they were ſet at liberty. CHAP. IV. 1690.

William Edmundſon's wife aſſiſted by her neighbours endeavouring to remove the ſtock of her ſon's tanyard, is ſurprized by rapparees.

One of William's ſons had a tanyard well ſtocked; and about a week after the burning of their houſe, while they were in confinement, William's wife thought it neceſſary to remove the hides and leather to a place of greater ſafety; and accordingly went, accompanied by ſeveral of their neighbours, with horſes and cars to aſſiſt in removing them. While they were loading the leather, &c. Colonel R. Dunn and his brother-in-law aforeſaid, came upon them with a multitude of rapparees; whereupon the neighbours fled for their lives, and left the horſes, cars and loading, which the rapparees ſeized and carried off. But the old woman, not being able to eſcape, they ſtripped her naked, and left her in that condition to walk home two miles in the month of December, whereby ſhe caught a cold of which ſhe never recovered, but died about ſeven months after. Dunn's egregious perfidy immediately met with exemplary vengeance. For the next morning a party of twenty five troopers being ſent from Mountmelick in purſuit of the plunderers, to whom (I have heard) about

William Edmundſon's wife ſtripped by the rapparees, gets a cold from which ſhe never recovered.

deſpairing of their longer ſafety there, ſhe deſired them to eſcape with their lives if they could. She then conveyed them into her garden, whence with much difficulty they eſcaped into a neighbouring wood, where they lay concealed ſeveral days and nights in great terror and diſtreſs.

CHAP. IV. 1690.

about eighty of the inhabitants joined themſelves, they came up with the ſaid Dunn and ſeveral hundreds of the rapparees, whom they engaged. Dunn and his brother-in-law, with many others, were killed at the commencement of the engagement, upon which the reſt ſought their ſafety in flight, of whom a great number were taken priſoners, and ſafely brought off to Mountmelick.

William Edmundſon ſtill in danger.

After William had obtained his liberty, and was returned back into the neighbourhood of his former reſidence, he was not releaſed from danger, being ſtill the object of the cruel machinations of his popiſh neighbours, to whom he had been a peaceable neighbour and kind friend. For ſo multiplied had the enormities of the bands of rapparees been through the winter, that as ſoon as the Engliſh army could be drawn out of their winter quarters, it was reſolved to put a ſtop to their depredation by driving them over the Shannon. And Major General Kirk, with part of the army, marched to Mountmelick with intention to ſettle garriſons in convenient places to protect the country. Roſenallis was pointed out to him as a convenient place, and information given him of William's ſufferings and uſage from the papiſts there. Whereupon he ſent for William and ordered him to attend him to Roſenallis, which at the general's command he did.

In conſequence of this, the popiſh neighbours, who kept their dwellings thereabout under the protection of king William's proclamation; and who, though they kept at home under this protection, favoured and harboured the rapparees, conceived a deep but concealed reſentment againſt William

William Edmundſon, whom they cauſeleſsly ſuſ- CHAP. pected as the author of fixing a garriſon there, IV. to overawe them from harbouring thoſe plun- 1690. derers, and prevent their ſharing in their plunder as heretofore. Therefore fully to ſatiate their vengeance, they procured eight or nine of the moſt determined of the rapparees, to lie in ambuſh between Mountmelick, where he dwelt after his houſe was burned, and Roſenallis, his former reſidence, where his land lay, with a full determination to murder him. To draw him into the ſnare, two of his neighbours came to him, diſguiſing their villainy under the maſk of friendſhip, and endeavouring to make his chriſtian diſpoſition to ſerve them the inſtrument of his own deſtruction; fawningly requeſting him to go to Roſenallis to ſpeak to the officers of the garriſon to be favourable to the inhabitants there, as they centered their hopes of being well-treated in his friendly interpoſition. But it was providentially ordered that he did not go that day. Two days after they came again with the ſame pretence; and now added that the ſoldiers were pulling down his out-houſes, which had eſcaped the flames, when his houſe was burned. They uſed many arguments, under the treacherous veil of kindneſs and friendſhip, to perſuade him to go, but he writes, "I was reſtrained by a "ſecret hand, that knew their evil deſign, and "would not ſuffer me to fall into their ſnare." The very next morning, one James Dobſon with his ſon and couſin paſſing that way, theſe rapparees ſhot the ſon dead in the place, and took the other two into the woods, and there barbarouſly murdered them. Upon which they fled; and that night the popiſh inhabitants of this

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quarter, conſcious of the part they had acted, and fearing the puniſhment due to their crimes, fled alſo to the rapparees for protection.

1690.

Friends keep their habitations, but others generally flee to garriſons.

Many other friends, in common with every denomination of proteſtants, were expoſed to the like loſſes, perils and perfidy, in this calamitous time. Others, who had ſtaid, generally took refuge in the garriſoned places for their ſecurity; but friends kept their places and habitations, till they were driven therefrom by violence, placing their faith and confidence in divine protection, which, although permitting many of them to be tried with the loſs of their ſubſtance, miraculouſly preſerved their lives; ſo that we have no account of more than four that fell by the hands of violence, and two of theſe forwardly expoſed themſelves to danger.

A mortal diſtemper breaks out.

Beſides the other trying calamities attendant upon war, at the return of the army to winter quarters, a mortal diſtemper overſpread the country, which took off many of the inhabitants of every claſs and denomination. Many alſo who had been driven from their houſes, and loſt moſt or all of their ſubſtance, repining at this reverſe of their circumſtances, languiſhed in ſorrow till they died: which friends were greatly ſupported over, in reſignation to the divine will, and quiet ſubmiſſion to the government of the ſovereign ruler of the univerſe, who not only giveth, but alſo taketh away.

Account of Geo. Gregſon of Liſnegarvy.

This year George Gregſon of Liſnegarvy (now Liſburn) in the county of Antrim, departed this life. He was born in Lancaſhire, and educated in the popiſh perſuaſion; but was converted to the profeſſion of the principles of the people called Quakers, and was faithful to the principle he

he profeſſed. His converſion raiſed him many enemies, and much averſion and envy amongſt thoſe whoſe communion he had deſerted, who propagated many falſe and malicious reports concerning him, which he bore with patience; and perſevered with unſhaken fortitude in the ſteady purſuit of peace of mind, whereby growing in religious experience, he received a gift in the miniſtry. His miniſterial labours were effectually conducive to the converting of many from the evil of their ways, and opening their underſtandings to diſcover the way of life and ſalvation, being favoured with good natural parts, and a clear and agreeable manner of delivery in the expreſſion of his ſentiments on religious ſubjects. Great was his concern for the offspring of friends, and thoſe newly convinced, that they might not reſt contented in a profeſſion of truth, received by education or tradition; or in the comprehenſion thereof in their underſtandings; but that they might be excited to preſs after the experience of the waſhing of regeneration, and be renewed in their minds thereby. He travelled in the exerciſe of his gift in Ireland and divers parts of England, and was a ſufferer for his religious perſuaſion, both by impriſonment and ſpoil of goods. He retained his love to God and his brethren to the laſt period of his life; and at his death left a conſiderable part of his ſubſtance to ſeveral meetings in Ireland, and to friends in Lancaſhire.

Account of the life, travels, death and character of John Burnyeat.

In this year alſo the community at large, and friends of Ireland more particularly, ſuſtained a loſs in the removal of John Burnyeat of Dublin; whoſe travels and religious labours amongſt his friends and others have been recited in va-

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rious parts of this work. He was born in Cumberland, of parents of good repute, who gave him a good education, ſuited to his circumſtances and line of life. He was religiouſly inclined from his youth, delighted in reading the ſcriptures, and endeavoured from them to imbibe thoſe virtues and practices that conduce to ſolid peace of mind. His ſolicitude to attain this important acquiſition alſo led him to enquire after, and apply to thoſe teachers, who bore the character of men of religious experience, for direction and inſtruction in the way to true peace; but met not with that ſatisfactory intelligence, whereby he could attain the deſire of his ſoul, being more built up in the faſhionable ſpeculations of the age about religion, than inſtructed in the internal work, whereby the heart is purified and changed. When George Fox came into the parts where he reſided, he with many others were recommended to an inſtructor near at hand, the true light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. John Burnyeat was convinced by his doctrine in the year 1653. And by turning the attention of his mind to the inſtruction of this internal monitor, and the diſcovery of this true light, he clearly perceived the emptineſs of his former high profeſſion, and the danger and hazard of depending upon the imputed righteouſneſs of Chriſt, whilſt he lived in ſin (a notion greatly prevailing amongſt many high profeſſors in thoſe days) for he was now convinced that the guilt remained, while the body of death, leading by its power into actual ſin, remained. Seeing the neceſſity of regeneration and holineſs, he endured many deeply exerciſing conflicts with the corruption

and

and infirmities of his heart, till in the due time, by the aſſiſtance of divine grace, victory over them was obtained; and ſanctification in a good meaſure perfected in him. 1690.

He receives a gift in the miniſtry.

Being thus properly prepared for the reception of the gifts of the ſpirit, he was ſoon called to the work of the miniſtry; in the diſcharge whereof he was not ſlothful in buſineſs; but fervent in ſpirit, ſerving the Lord, both in his native country, and in many foreign regions, where his friends were ſettled, to the convincing of many, of the truth which he publiſhed, and the confirmation and eſtabliſhment of many in the way of righteouſneſs and peace, as hath been variouſly related in the courſe of this work.

His character.

Amongſt his cotemporaries he was greatly beloved, and highly eſteemed for his many excellent qualities and ſervices amongſt them, from whom we have received the following character of him as a miniſter, a chriſtian and a man. His depth in religious experience, through the effectual work of ſanctification, and diſcovery of the myſtery of the kingdom of heaven, through the illumination of the ſpirit of truth, qualified him, like the good houſeholder in the goſpel, to bring out of his treaſury things new and old, for the edification of thoſe to whom he miniſtered. He was far from being raſh with his mouth, or haſty to utter any thing before God; frequently waiting a conſiderable time in awful ſilence and diligent attention of mind, for the renewed feeling of the word, which is quick and powerful, to animate his doctrine with the freſh ſavour of life before he ſtood up to miniſter, in order that his miniſtry (delivered with a natural unaffected eloquence, in the demonſtration

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tion of the ſpirit, and not in the oldneſs of the letter) might be effectual to reach the divine witneſs in the conſciences of his auditory.

Through this reverent attention, he was endowed with ſkill to divide the word aright, and adminiſter conſolation to the ſincere and diſconſolate believers; encouragement to the diffident; inſtruction to the young and inexperienced; and reproof to the inſincere members, who diſturbed the peace of the church by a ſpirit of contention, or diſhonoured its character by licentious manners, inconſiſtent with the purity of its principles.

He confirmed his miniſtry by his example, his converſation being adorned with the chriſtian virtues of humility, charity, meekneſs, patience, gravity and temperance, in a conſpicuous degree; his natural temper was kind and benevolent; his conſtitution hardy, his reſolution undaunted and perſevering, in the diſcharge of manifeſt duty, which was put repeatedly to the trial, by his ſharing in perſecution in common with his brethren of that age.

His impriſonments.

His firſt impriſonment was in Carliſle in 1655, at the inſtigation of one *Denton*, prieſt of Brigham in Cumberland, who promulgating in his ſermon many falſe charges, bitter invectives and groundleſs calumnies againſt the people called Quakers in John's hearing, after he had finiſhed it, John ſpake to him what was in his mind; to which the prieſt made little anſwer; but after his hearers had rudely aſſaulted him with their bibles and ſtaves, till he was ſore with bruiſes to a degree, which affected him for ſome time, the prieſt commanded the conſtable to ſecure him, and a friend, who accompanied him, and next day

1ſt, at Carliſle.

day had them before Launcelot Fletcher, who committed them to the county jail, where John was detained twenty-three weeks. He was next impriſoned at Rippon in Yorkſhire in 1662. Coming in the courſe of his religious travels to this town, and underſtanding that many of his friends of that place were in priſon for meeting together to worſhip God, he thought it his duty to pay them a brotherly viſit; and for uttering ſome words of exhortation and encouragement to them, the jailer took him before the mayor, who had in company with him the chancellor of the dioceſe and ſeveral aldermen. The chancellor took upon him the office of chief magiſtrate in examining him, and ſought to enſnare him in his words, that he might extort an occaſion to commit him to priſon; but when he could not get the advantage, at which he aimed by theſe means, he grew angry, and, in order to attain his ends, was forced to reſort to the uſual ſnare, by cauſing the oaths to be tendered to him, and upon his declining to ſwear he was committed to priſon with his friends, who were twenty-four in number. Some time after the magiſtrates aſſembling in a bowling green, contiguous to the priſon, for the diverſion of bowls, during the time of the meeting for worſhip, which the priſoners kept up daily, they overheard John Burnyeat concerned in exhortation or prayer, and being provoked thereat, they commanded him to be put down into the dungeon, a place without light or air, where he was detained at this time two days and two nights: But ſtill, when releaſed from his diſmal cell, feeling the impulſe of duty at times to exerciſe his miniſtry for the edification of his friends in priſon,

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2d, at Rippon.

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priſon, to releaſe themſelves from the mortification of hearing his preaching, they releaſed him, and ſent him away, after fourteen weeks cauſeleſs impriſonment. In 1670, upon the new conventicle act coming in force, he was fined 20l. for preaching at Devonſhire houſe, London, by Sir Samuel Starling, mayor, and about two weeks after committed to newgate by the ſame magiſtrate for the ſame cauſe. Again being informed againſt for preaching at Machynlleth in Montgomeryſhire, his mare, ſaddle and bridle, value 8l. was taken from him, and he left to travel on foot. But the informers were diſappointed of the beſt part of their ſpoil, for the mare died in the poſſeſſion of thoſe who took her about an hour after.

1690.

3d, in Newgate, London.

We have ſeen that he devoted the prime of his life to the ſervice of his Maker, and promoting righteouſneſs in divers parts of the earth, being engaged very much in travelling in the exerciſe of his gift till paſt the ſtate of middle age, when (in 1683) he married and ſettled in Dublin, in which city, as well as other parts of Ireland, by his ſteady, circumſpect and exemplary conduct, and his powerful miniſtry, he was a very ſerviceable member of religious ſociety, and obtained a great place in the affection and eſteem of his friends and neighbours here, as he had done before in his native country.

Marries and ſettles in Dublin.

After his ſettling in Dublin his travels and ſervice were moſtly confined to the different parts of Ireland, only in the year after his marriage (1684) he viſited Scotland and the northern counties of England. In the year 1688 his wife died, and after her death he had an inclination to return, and ſpend the remainder of his days in his native

native country; but the proſpect of approaching war, and its concomitant evils, which terrified numbers of the proteſtant inhabitants to flee to England, had the contrary effect upon him; for when the face of affairs began to look diſmal and menacing, he felt no liberty to purſue his intention; but found it his place to ſtay and take a ſhare in the ſufferings which might be permitted to befal his friends, amongſt whom he was very ſerviceable in ſtrengthening and comforting them under their ſevere afflictions in theſe perilous and calamitous times. Twice, for this purpoſe, during the time of the war, he viſited the meetings of friends in the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter, where he had large meetings; for in many places the teachers of other denominations had fled and left their flocks. As ſoon as the way was open, he paid a like viſit to friends in the province of Ulſter, amongſt whom he had acceptable ſervice, and was greatly comforted in finding them in a ſtate of patient acquieſcence under their ſufferings. CHAP. IV. 1690.

Soon after his return from this northern journey he went to the province meeting at Roſenallis, and whether it was at this or ſome other in this year, that he delivered the following prophetic warning, is not clear, but it is recorded of him, that at a province meeting in 1690, he declared to his friends, "It is now a time of "great trial upon you in loſing all your ſub-"ſtance; but the time will come when you "will be as greatly tried with getting wealth," which was ſoon accompliſhed. From Roſenallis he proceeded to Mountrath, Ballinakill and the monthly meeting at New Garden, and from thence went home with John Watſon, where he fell

CHAP. IV. fell ill of a fever, which in twelve days put a period to his life. During his illneſs he was preſerved clear in his underſtanding, and in a fine frame of ſpirit, being borne up over the fear of death by the teſtimony of a good conſcience, in the ſolacing review of the integrity and virtue of his paſt life. Expreſſing his lively hope, "That "he ever loved the Lord, and the Lord loved "him from his youth, and that he now felt his "love." He was ſenſible to the laſt, and ſo laid down his head in peace with God, in love to his brethren and good will to all mankind, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was buried at New Garden; his funeral was attended by many friends and others, upon which occaſion William Edmundſon bore a lively and affecting teſtimony in commemoration of his eminent and faithful ſervices.

1690.

1691. The campaign of 1691 put the finiſhing ſtroke to the wars and the troubles in Ireland. King William at the cloſe of the laſt campaign returned to England, and General Ginkle being appointed to the command of the army, took Athlone, gave the Iriſh army a total defeat at Aughrim; and took the city of Limerick, which capitulated upon articles, whereby the war was brought to a termination, and the peace of the nation reſtored.

An end of the war.

The people called Quakers, upon the reſtoration of peace, through the recollection of the precarious tenure they had of their ſecular poſſeſſions, during the continuance of the war, were, as yet, ſo looſened in their attachment thereto, and the ſympathetic benevolence of their hearts to each other ſo encreaſed, that thoſe, who had ſomething

ſomething left, were very ready to communicate to their indigent friends. CHAP. IV.

1691.

Thoſe who had been driven from their habitations generally returned to re-poſſeſs them; and the ſucceeding national meeting took care, that in every quarter, friends ſhould be ſupplied for the preſent with ſuch neceſſaries as the time and their abilities could afford; and that in reſettling a competent number might ſettle near together, ſo as conveniently to conſtitute a meeting for divine worſhip, for their mutual edification, and the reciprocal benefit of themſelves and their families.

Care of the national meeting for ſupplying the exigencies of friends.

And it is remarkable, that through the whole of this ſeaſon of danger and tumult, they kept up their meetings for worſhip and diſcipline in their accuſtomed manner without much interruption or diſturbance from either party; although, as before remarked, they often went to diſtant meetings through great perils, by reaſon of the rapparees, who in many places beſet the roads in ambuſh to rob and murder the paſſengers on their way; but they reſorting to their meetings in faith, and under perſuaſion of duty, were mercifully preſerved, and their fidelity rewarded with inward conſolation, peace of mind, and an increaſe of ſpiritual ſtrength: And they gained ground in religious experience, in the number of their members and in the public eſteem, through their innocent, ſteadfaſt and ſober deportment in the fear of God.

Meetings kept up during the war.

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AMERICA.

Meeting-houſe built in Philadelphia.—Death and Character of Robert and Jane Owen.—Ditto of John Skein.—Yearly Meeting to be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia.—Care to prevent ſtrong Liquors being ſold to the Indians, and Means uſed for their Inſtruction.—Emigration from Holland and Germany.—Life and Character of Chriſtopher Taylor.—Two Letters from William Penn to the Colony.

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IN this year friends of the quarterly meeting of Philadelphia put in execution the deſign, which they had a conſiderable time in contemplation, of building a meeting-houſe in the city. At a quarterly meeting held in the ſixth month this year, it was concluded to have one built inthe center, between the two rivers bounding the city, of brick, fifty feet by thirty-ſix in dimenſion, which being in due time completed, the meetings were held there, till the bank meeting-houſe was built: The next year friends of Burlington alſo built a large commodious meeting-houſe [a].

1684. Meeting-houſe built in Philadelphia.

The quarterly meeting of Philadelphia was now compoſed of the following particular meetings and bodies of friends, viz. Tacony (or Oxford)

[a] S. Smith.

ford) Poetqueſing, the Welſh friends, and thoſe contiguous to the city on the other ſide of Schuylkill, with the meeting of Philadelphia; and in a few years the friends of Plymouth, Byberry, and Dublin or Abington, joined them. CHAP. V. 1684.

This year James Martyn from Eaſt Acton in Middleſex croſſed the ſeas on a religious viſit to the continent of America, where he ſpent a conſiderable part of two years; paſſing through the meetings of his friends in Penſylvania and other parts of that continent: And being a man of worth and innocency, whoſe converſation adorned the goſpel, which he preached faithfully, his zealous and diligent labours amongſt them were edifying, ſerviceable and acceptable to his friends in thoſe parts [b].

In the year 1685, an honourable ancient couple of diſtinction amongſt the Welch coloniſts were removed by death ſhortly after their arrival in America, viz. Robert Owen, late of Doleyſevre near Dolgelly in Merionethſhire, and Jane his wife, whoſe character, two of their countrymen, John Humphrey and Rowland Ellis, who knew them well both before and after they removed to America, have left us upon record, in teſtimony of their worth, from whence the following abſtract is drawn. 1685. Death and character of Robert and Jane Owen.

They were both well deſcended from families of the rank of gentry (as they are uſually termed). The ſaid Robert inherited from his father a competent eſtate, and received a liberal education, ſuitable to his rank in life. Being bleſſed with a good genius and quick apprehenſion, his proficiency in literature, and his intellectual abilities, placed

[b] S. Smith. J. Whiting.

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placed him in eminency amongſt his neighbours of the ſame rank. After the expiration of the protectorate, he received a commiſſion of captain of militia and governor of Beaumorris, under the committee of ſafety, which he held to the time of the reſtoration of King Charles II. and diſcharged his functions with fidelity. But the ſolidity of his underſtanding, illuminated by divine grace, made him clearly perceive that real and durable happineſs was not founded in the eſtimation of men, or worldly honour or preferments, but in ſomething more ſubſtantial; from which conſideration he had long devoted the attention of his mind to religious reſearches, and by the ſincerity of his heart and the influence of the light he was favoured with, was endued with penetration to diſtinguiſh between the precious and the vile, between pure religion and the appearance thereof; and being diſpoſed to part with all (like the wiſe merchant-man in the goſpel) to poſſeſs himſelf of the precious pearl, pure religion, and the peace of mind reſulting therefrom, his reſearches terminated in joining in ſociety with the people called Quakers, from which he was not deterred by the proſpect of ſharing with them in perſecution and reproach. It appears to have been about the time of the reſtoration that he fully joined this body of people, although I apprehend, as far as I can gather from the above cited teſtimonies, that he was partly convinced before. But now the change of government, and of the national worſhip, introducing party altercations and ſtruggles for power and pre-eminence, and amongſt many of the eccleſiaſtics an offenſive verſatility of profeſſion, to ſecure the revenues of the livings they poſſeſſed, in

1685. Rob. Owen a captain and governor of Beaumorris caſtle.

in ſome; and in the reſt, on one ſide an avaricious engroſſing of the emoluments of the church ſo called to themſelves; on the other the regret at loſing them, ſeemed to manifeſt more of a ſpirit of covetouſneſs than of chriſtianity prevailing amongſt them in too general a way. This offenſive conduct was an occaſion of ſtumbling to many of their hearers, who were ſincere in religious enquiries, and of looking forward to a people, who were more diſintereſted and exempt from ſuch ſtruggles, and was the means of encreaſing the numbers of this ſociety, by the addition of many valuable members. Amongſt them, I apprehend, was Robert Owen, who upon this revolution in the ſtate, was with many others committed to priſon, not indeed as a Quaker, but for accepting a commiſſion under the former government; and although he cleared himſelf of acting under the ſame, only in compliance with the orders of his ſuperiors, yet the oppoſite party, in the exultation and intemperate warmth of party zeal, exerted themſelves to effect his ruin in body and eſtate. Others impriſoned on the like account obtained their liberty by the act of oblivion, paſſed ſome time after, upon their taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, which our ſaid friend at this time could not do, being in conſcience perſuaded of the unlawfulneſs of an oath; and choſe rather to ſuffer adverſity, than wound the peace of his own mind. He therefore ſuffered five years cloſe impriſonment in the town of Dolgelly, about a mile from his own houſe, whither he was not permitted to go during that time. At laſt his principal proſecutor was viſited with a fit of ſickneſs, under which the remorſe of his conſcience was ſuch that he could enjoy neither reſt nor eaſe until

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He is impriſoned at the Reſtoration.

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until he ſent a ſpecial meſſenger to releaſe him.

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His wife, Jane Owen, was alſo honourably deſcended, her father being in the office of a juſtice of peace, and a man for integrity conſpicuous above moſt of his rank. His ſaid daughter was a woman whoſe natural good underſtanding was improved by a religious turn of mind; ſhe was of a grave and ſolid deportment; adorned with a meek and quiet ſpirit; in her proſperity humble minded; in adverſity patient; a ſympathizing helpmeet and encourager to her huſband in all his trials; he being a repeated ſufferer for his religion, by impriſonment and loſs of ſubſtance. They freely opened their houſe for the reception of the meetings of their friends, through the hotteſt times of perſecution, whereby they were frequently expoſed to ſufferings and ſpoil. As they had a large family, ſhe being the mother of nine ſons, her relations, perſons of eminence and influence in that country, but not walking by faith, as they did, were often ſolicitouſly engaged to plead with her huſband to pity his children, and ſave his eſtate; but ſhe, on the contrary, found it her place to encourage him to fidelity to his duty, and not to violate his conſcience for fear of ſuffering, in which, when it fell to his ſhare, ſhe tenderly ſympathized, and with firmneſs and courage bore her part therein.

They were remarkable for their hoſpitality, their houſe and hearts being open to all honeſt friends and other ſober people. Being very ſerviceable members of religious and civil ſociety, they were greatly loved and reſpected in their native country. From whence after they had borne their ſhare of ſuffering in the heat of the

the perſecution, and had ſpent a length of years together in near affection, they removed in their old age to Penſylvania in the year 1684, and there laid down the body in peace, and were buried within a few days of each other in the fifth month 1685. CHAP. V. 1685.

About this time died John Skein, formerly of Aberdeen in Scotland, his native country, where he was marked out as a principal member of this ſociety, by the exceſs of injury, depredation and perſecution to which he was expoſed there*. About 1678 he removed to America, and ſettled in Weſt Jerſey, of which (being a man of good abilities, natural and acquired) he was advanced to the ſtation of governor, which he filled with reputation and integrity near two years. And it is a remarkable inſtance of the ſolidity of the religion of theſe early profeſſors of the truth, that neither the frowns of power, nor the poſſeſſion thereof, were able to ſhake their conſtancy and ſteadfaſt adherence to rectitude and religious conſiderations, which in their proſperity as well as adverſity were the ruling principles in them, whereby they were ſupported to bear ſufferings with patience and fortitude, and proſperous circumſtances with humility and fear. Death and character of John Skein.

By theſe principles John Skein, in the enjoyment of power, was inſtructed to uſe it for the ſervice of the people, over whom he was placed in government, not in mere profeſſion (as too cuſtomary) but in truth and reality, as a religious duty. And while he was employing his talents in the ſervice of government, and diſcharging his truſt with fidelity in his ſtation, as a member

* See vol. ii. p. 464, 468.

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of civil ſociety, he did not look upon it as beneath him, but eſteemed it his indiſpenſable duty, to fill up his place alſo in religious ſociety among friends, both by his exemplary conduct, and his edifying miniſtry.

The general yearly meeting which for the paſt four years ſucceſſively had been held at Burlington; at a meeting in 1683, had been agreed upon to be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia *. In conſequence of this agreement, the firſt yearly meeting in the latter place began on the fifteenth of the ſeventh month this year. Many friends from Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey expreſſed their unity and ſatisfaction in the preſent eſtabliſhment of one yearly meeting for the three provinces. Amongſt other ſubjects of deliberation, the concerting of ſome additional meaſures for preventing all perſons, who went under the name of Quakers, from being in any manner concerned in ſelling rum to the Indians, particularly engaged their attention. This ſubject attracted the very early and earneſt care of the firſt ſettlers of this ſociety in both provinces, from the clear ſenſe they had of the † iniquity and bad conſequences of this traffick.

Yearly meeting eſtabliſhed; to be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia.

Their concern to prevent any under their name to ſell rum to the Indians.

Inſtead

* This yearly meeting was firſt intended to conſiſt of friends northward, as far as New England, and ſouthward as far as Carolina: Maryland ſent repreſentatives for ſome time. But the diſtance of their habitations rendering it inconvenient for friends of the remoter colonies to give their attendance, the yearly meeting was conſtituted of the friends of New Jerſey and Penſylvania only, and ſo continued ſeveral years; but now a conſiderable number of friends reſiding in the weſtern parts of Virginia and Maryland belong to this yearly meeting, which ſince the year 1760 hath been held annually at Philadelphia.

† The bad conſequence and iniquity of this traffick, is clearly

Inſtead of endeavours to take advantage of the weakneſs of the natives by making ungodly gain

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ly ſet forth in a pamphlet publiſhed in Philadelphia, entitled *Some Obſervations on the Indian Natives of this Continent.*

Much of their blamable conduct, now complained of, is certainly imputable to a long continued train of fraudulent and corrupt practices in our intercourſe with them, eſpecially the fatal introduction of ſtrong drink, of which they have often complained*, and deſired it might not be brought amongſt them, by which inſtead of allaying the ferment of corrupt nature, by a good example, and the good inſtruction, which our ſuperior knowledge would enable us to give them, too many have been inſtrumental in working them up to a ſtate of diſtraction, which when it has burſt forth in vengeance upon ourſelves, is made a pretence for deſtroying them, as though they were wholly the aggreſſors.

That Indians may be tempted or provoked to the perpetration of great evils, by the intemperate love and uſe of ſtrong liquors,

* At the treaty at Carliſle, in 1753 the Indians ſay, "The Rum "ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in ſuch quantities. "We deſire it may be forbidden, and none ſold in the Indian country; "but that if the Indians will have any, they may go amongſt the inhabi- "tants, and deal with them. When theſe Whiſkey traders come, "they bring 30 or 40 Kegs, and put them before us, and make us "drink, and get all the ſkins that ſhould go to pay the debts we have "contracted for goods bought of the fair trader; and by this means, "we not only ruin ourſelves, but them too.

"The wicked Whiſkey ſellers, when they have once got the Indians "in liquor, made them ſell their very clothes from their backs. In "ſhort, if this practice be continued, we muſt be inevitably ruined. "We moſt earneſtly, therefore, beſeech you to remedy it."

We find an early record, in the hiſtory of New Jerſey, to the credit of the people of that day. That at a conference they held with the Indians, where 8 Kings or Chiefs were preſent, the ſpeaker expreſſed himſelf to the following effect: "Strong liquors were ſold to us by the "Swedes and by the Dutch; theſe people had no eyes, they did not "ſee it was hurtful to us; that it made us mad. We know it is hurt- "ful to us. Nevertheleſs, if people will ſell it to us, we are ſo in love "with it, that we cannot forbear; but now there is a people come to "live amongſt us, that have eyes; they ſee it to be for our hurt; they "are willing to deny themſelves the profit, for our good. Theſe people "have eyes, we are glad ſuch a people are come, we muſt put it down "by mutual conſent. We give theſe four belts of wampum——to "be a witneſs of this agreement we make with you; and would have "you tell it to your children."

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gain in a commerce so injurious to their temper and their morals; these friends and their European brethren who visited them, exerted their endeavours to cultivate amity and a friendly correspondence with the native Indians, in order by kind treatment, fair dealing, and good conduct, to gain their esteem and good opinion, thereby to open themselves a way to be more essentially serviceable to them, in bringing them to an acquaintance with the principles of christianity. For this purpose religious-minded friends would frequently enter into conversation with them, visit them in their villages, and hold religious meetings amongst them; their discourses being explained by an interpreter to such of them as did not understand English. John Hayton and James Martin from Europe, who came early in a religious visit to friends in these provinces; William Penn, Samuel Jennings, Thomas Olive, and others of the new settlers, had meetings amongst them, as well as many since from time to time, wherein they used endeavours to inculcate the benefit of a christian life. And in this year a committee of friends was appointed by the quarterly meeting of Burlington to pay the neighbouring Indians a religious visit, and hold a meeting among them, to which many of the Indians gathered, and quietly attended to what was delivered. At this and many other meetings of this

The exertions of friends to cultivate friendship with the Indians, and to gain them to christianity.

liquors, is easily conceived; but whether they, who, to gratify the cravings of sordid avarice, furnish them with the intoxicating potion, and then take advantage of their situation, to impose upon them, and tempt them to evil, are not principally accountable, for the crimes they commit, and their consequences, is a query worthy of their most serious consideration.

this kind they ſeemed to be affected, and particular perſons amongſt them would profeſs ſome convincement and reformation for a ſeaſon; and in a general way they would be ſerious on theſe occaſions, and confeſs to the truth and goodneſs of what they heard and underſtood; but the thorough mortification of their paſſions and natural appetites, which is the eſſence of chriſtianity, ſeemed a diſcipline too ſevere for them, habituated to little reſtraint, to ſubmit to. Yet the religious converſation and virtuous examples of theſe firſt ſettlers in theſe provinces, and their free and friendly correſpondence and intercourſe with them, were conducive to bring the bordering Indians to a degree of civilization and good neighbourhood unknown to thoſe of the remoter tribes.

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1686. Emigration from Holland and Germany.

About the year 1686 many friends and others from Holland and Germany arrived in Penſylvania, who, fixing their reſidence among their friends, contributed to the extenſion of the town called Germantown, ſituated ſix miles north of Philadelphia, which had been begun in 1682. Several of them, I apprehend, emigrated from the Palatinate, in which province many of the inhabitants had adopted the name and profeſſion of Quakers, whereby they eſcaped ſharing in the ſucceeding calamities of their country in the year 1689, when Louis the Fourteenth, in the cruel wantonneſs of power, cauſed the fine towns in that principality to be deſtroyed by fire.

Life and character C. Taylor.

In this year Chriſtopher Taylor of Penſylvania departed this life. He was brother to Thomas Taylor, of whom an account hath been given before in 1681. He is ſuppoſed to have been born

CHAP. V. born near Skipton in Yorkſhire, and as well as his brother received a learned education, to qualify him for the office of the miniſtry: and he officiated as preacher among the puritans 'till he was convinced about the ſame time with his brother by the miniſtry of George Fox in 1652, and after ſome time he became an approved miniſter amongſt the people called Quakers, and travelled in many parts of the nation to propagate religion and righteouſneſs, but was impriſoned at Appleby in Weſtmorland in 1654, by warrant from Thomas Burton, a juſtice, for ſpeaking, what he eſteemed his duty, to a prieſt in the ſteeple-houſe yard, where he remained under ſevere ſufferings and inhuman uſage about two years. During his impriſonment he wrote a warning to the rulers in England, eſpecially to the perſecuting rulers, prieſts and people in the county of Weſtmoreland, and ſome other pieces. After his releaſe from this impriſonment, I have no certain account of his future travels. At ſome diſtance of time I find he kept a boarding-ſchool of repute at Waltham Abbey in Eſſex, for children of both ſexes, during which time he employed his leiſure hours in exerciſing his pen in the ſervice of truth. From Waltham he removed about 1679 to Edmonton in Middleſex, and continued his ſchool there. In the diſcharge of his duty he was remarkably zealous and diligent, not only in inſtructing the children under his care in literature, but in ſucceſsful endeavours to inſtil into their tender minds early impreſſions of religion, virtue, and the fear of their maker. In theſe laudable endeavours he was effectually ſeconded by the joined exertions of his wife, a faithful woman

1686.

and

and a miniſter, and of his principal aſſiſtant, John Matern, a German by birth, who had received a learned education in his native country, being alſo deſigned for the ſacerdotal office; but being convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers about 1674 there, he removed to reſide amongſt his friends in England, and engaged with Chriſtopher Taylor as aſſiſtant in his ſchool, for which ſtation he was well qualified, not only as a man of literature, but in the more valuable qualification of the truly religious and faithful man. The conjoined labours of theſe worthy men had a remarkable effect on the minds and manners of the children under their tuition, of which they publiſhed an account this year, under the title of *A Teſtimony to the Lord's Power and bleſſed Appearance in and amongſt the Children.* John Matern did not long continue, but finiſhed his courſe in this life at Edmonton the 1ſt of the 7 mo, 1680, under the conſolation of a good conſcience, and a well-grounded hope of entering into eternal reſt. His concern for the laſting good of the children under his care only left him with his parting breath; for about four hours before his departure he deſired them to be called up into his bed-chamber, and there he prayed for them, and gave them his final exhortation, *to be faithful to the little they knew of the fear and will of their maker*, and that greater degrees would be added. After his death Chriſtopher Taylor continued his ſchool at Edmonton between two and three years, during which time he wrote a cautionary epiſtle to friends in relation to William Rogers's writings, and an anſwer to two of his libels. About the year 1682, reſigning his ſchool

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1686. John Matern, his principal aſſiſtant.

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school to George Keith, he removed with his wife to Pensylvania, where she died in the year 1685, and himself the next year. And although the residence of this valuable man was of no long duration in this colony, he lived long enough to impress his friends there with a lively sense of his worth, and of their loss in his so speedy removal, as appears by their testimony, that he was a diligent and faithful minister among them; in the exercise of his gift, pertinent, clear and affecting; in prayer, solemn, reverent and weighty; in his general deportment, circumspect, meek and humble. He was also, in a civil capacity, a very respectable and serviceable member of the colony of Pensylvania, and for his services the few years he lived there, seems to have been regarded by them as one of the best men of the age in which he lived.

1686.

1689. William Penn, at different times in the year 1689, sent the following letters to his friends in Pensylvania:

W. Penn's letters to friends in Pensylvania.

"My dear Friends and Brethren,

"If it be with you, as I can say it is with "me in the presence of God, then are we one "in him; for neither length of days, nor dis-"tance of place, nor all the many waters be-"tween us, can separate my heart and affec-"tions from you; but my love, yea the love "of God my father, and your father, abounds "towards you, with endeared salutations to you "all; and for you, and the blessing of you "and yours, with grace, peace and prosperity, "are my knees bowed to the God of all our mer-

"cies

" cies and preſervations; that a holy, blameleſs CHAP.
" people, without guile and wrath, brawling V.
" and ſelfiſhneſs, you may be made and kept in
" all things. That God may ſpread his great 1689.
" name over you, and make a wall of defence
" about you, and create a glory upon the ſame,
" to your unſpeakable joy, and the renown of
" his own great power; for this mine eyes have
" beheld under the ſun, that all is vanity in
" compariſon of him, and that happy and
" bleſſed is that people whoſe God is the Lord.
" For the nation or province upon the earth
" that will not reverence him, and call in righ-
" teouſneſs upon him, and in all their under-
" takings have his glory firſt in their eyes, ſhall
" be cut off. He will vex, viſit and trouble
" that people, that they may know that he
" ruleth in the kingdoms of men. Therefore
" the Lord guide you by his own ſpirit, and
" preſerve you a lively, green and ſavoury peo-
" ple to his praiſe. Amen.

" Great revolutions have been of late in this
" land of your nativity, and where they may
" period the Lord knows; it can be no new
" thing for us to meet with exerciſes. Europe
" looks like a ſea of trouble; wars all over it,
" like to be this ſummer; I ſtrongly deſire to
" ſee you before it be ſpent, if the Lord will;
" and I can ſay in his ſight, that to improve my
" intereſt with King James for tender con-
" ſciences, and that a chriſtian liberty might be
" legally ſettled, though againſt my own inte-
" reſt, was that which has ſeparated me from
" you chiefly.

" I deſire your remembrance before the Lord,
" as you are not and cannot be forgotten in my

" addreſſes

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" addreſſes and approaches to him, who reſt " in his unchangeable love, Dear friends and " brethren, your's unalterably in the commu- " nion of the precious truth,

" 2d 1mo, 1689. WM. PENN."

" My love to friends in Jerſey, &c. Let this " be read among friends."

" Hammerſmith, 30th 10mo, 1689.

" Dear Friends,

" I cannot ſlip this opportunity, but ſend you " the endeared ſalutations of my love, that in " the truth gives me frequent occaſions to re- " member you, and earneſtly deſire your pre- " ſervation to God, as well as your comfort " and proſperity about outward things, about " which have a care that they grow not too " faſt upon you, nor too many for you, I mean " as to the cares and concerns that attend them " in the exerciſe of your ſpirits; for it is a " bleſſed ſtate to enjoy and uſe the world in " the dominion of his life and power, that has " quickened by his light and ſpirit a people to " himſelf; for in this ſtands all our peace and " bleſſedneſs, that God be eyed in the firſt " place, that we ſet him on our right hand, " that we ſet him continually before our eyes, " and that our eye be directed towards him in " all things, as the eye of the handmaid to her " miſtreſs, that we may be able to ſay in truth " and righteouſneſs, *We have none in Heaven but* " *him*,

" *him, nor any on earth beſides him.* This it is CHAP.
" that keeps God's people every where, for V.
" hereby they put on Chriſt in all his bleſſed
" teachings and leadings, and make no provi- 1689.
" ſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof.
" Friends, they are deep words, and deeper
" things; I know you underſtand me, and I
" hope you feel me, who have your eyes to the
" mark, and look to the joy before you, that is
" above all joys in this momentary, trouble-
" ſome, buſy world. And now, friends, I
" have a word more to you, and that is this,
" that faith, hope and charity are the great
" helps and marks of true chriſtians, but above
" all, charity is the love of God, or divine
" love. Bleſſed are they that come to it, and
" hold the truth in it, and work and act in it,
" for they are poor indeed in ſpirit of their
" own, but rich in God's; they are meek, they
" inherit; all other ſtates are a brangle in
" compariſon, but this enjoys, this poſſeſſes,
" this reigns. O come into this love, more
" and more, for to this ſhall all gifts and oper-
" ations give place, and they do ſo in the
" hearts of thoſe that are come to know charity
" greateſt in them. It will preſerve peace in
" the church, peace in the ſtate, peace in fami-
" lies, aye and peace in particular boſoms.
" God Almighty draw, I beſeech him, all your
" hearts into this heavenly love more and more,
" that the work of it may ſhine out to God's
" glory and your comfort.

" For matters here, as to myſelf, I am well
" and free, and for the church of God, liberty
" continues; but in the nations of Europe,
" great wars, and rumours of wars, ſuch as

" have

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" have not been almoſt from the beginning; " ſuns are turned into darkneſs, and moons " into blood, for the notable day is at the door. " It could not be borne from ſome of you, " when you went for America, that ſuch a day " would come, but come and coming it is, for " almoſt every eye ſees it, and tongue ſays it, " and ſome thouſands, alas! have already felt " it. Sanctify, therefore, the Lord in your " hearts; be ſatisfied in him and in your lot, " and walk worthily of his daily mercy, and " attendance upon you, and care over you; " and the Lord keep you to the end. I am, in " the truth that makes us near to God, and one " to another,

" Your faithful friend and brother,

" W. PENN."

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

George Keith removes to Penſylvania.—Is appointed Maſter of a free School eſtabliſhed there, which he ſoon quits.—Account of George Keith before his Removal to America.—Further Remarks concerning him.—He lets in an aſpiring Mind.—Friends concerned to caution him.—He diſcovers an open Diſſent.—Begins to quarrel, firſt with Thomas Fitzwalter and William Stockdale.—Complains againſt them to the Monthly Meeting.—Friends in England, hearing of the Difference, write a Letter of Advice.—Their Counſel ſlighted by George Keith.—He treats Thomas Lloyd and other Magiſtrates with illiberal Language.—He reflects upon the Meeting of Miniſters.—Teſtimony of the Monthly Meeting againſt him.—Preſented by the Grand Jury and fined.—Magiſtrates' Vindication.—Thomas Wilſon and James Dickenſon arrive in Penſylvania.—Extract from Thomas Wilſon's Journal.—George Keith's Departure for England.

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1689. G. Keith removes to Penſylvania,

GEORGE KEITH, to whom Chriſtopher Taylor aforeſaid had reſigned his ſchool at Edmonton, did not keep it up long, but had alſo in the intermediate time removed to Penſylvania [a]. And about this time friends of Philadelphia, conſidering the advantages of a good education, had

[a] S. Smith.

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had it in contemplation to eſtabliſh a free-ſchool in Philadelphia; and looking upon George Keith, now a reſident there, as a perſon well qualified to conduct ſuch an undertaking, they pitched upon him for maſter of this ſchool, and engaged him on the following terms: That he ſhould have a ſalary of 50l. for the firſt year, a houſe for himſelf and family, and a ſchool-houſe provided, and the profits of the ſchool beſide; for two years more his ſchool was to be made worth 120l. per annum, if he ſhould chuſe to ſtay ſo long; in conſideration of which advantages he was to teach the poor children gratis. He continued in this ſtation only about a year, and was ſucceeded by his uſher, whoſe name was Thomas Makin.

1689. and is appointed maſter of a free-ſchool eſtabliſhed there,

which he quits.

George Keith's conduct ſeems, at this time, to betray ſymptoms of a very unſtable and wavering temper of mind; he ſoon grew weary of every circumſtance of life, eſpecially ſuch as was attended with labour and confinement. Chriſtopher Taylor, we ſee, reſigned into his hands a well-eſtabliſhed and profitable ſchool, which after no long time he quitted; removed firſt to London, and ſoon after to America. Here the ſtrenuous exertions of his friends to make ſo handſome a proviſion for him as their ſchool-maſter in the infant ſtate of their colony, evince the cordiality of their regard, and generoſity of their diſpoſition toward him, and that they were deſirous to make his reſidence amongſt them eaſy and comfortable to the utmoſt of their power. Under theſe circumſtances, one might imagine, he might have enjoyed eaſe and ſatisfaction to his full content, if free from uneaſineſs in his own mind; but he who carries the ſource

ſource of unhappineſs within himſelf, is not like to find happineſs in any circumſtance of life. He ſeems to have given a looſe rein to an unſettled and diſſatisfied temper, which occaſioned himſelf much hurt and friends much trouble, firſt in America, and afterwards in England. In order to convey a more ſatisfactory intelligence of the miſunderſtandings and ſeparation which ſoon broke out between him and friends in America, it may not be impertinent to recapitulate the ſucceſſive paſſages of his life previous thereto, as far as my materials enable me. 1689.

George Keith was a native of Scotland, where he received a liberal education in the national profeſſion or kirk of Scotland, not only at ſchool, but alſo at the univerſity of Aberdeen. By whom he was convinced, or by what means he joined in ſociety with the people called Quakers, I am not informed, but I find that in the year 1664, he came as a miniſter from the ſouth of Scotland on a religious viſit to his friends at Aberdeen, and was detained in priſon there ten months, and Patrick Livingſtone with him ſeven months, where they were violently beaten and abuſed by one Peter Strachan, ſon to Andrew Strachan, prieſt in Kintore, who was confined in the ſame priſon; for which he fell under great trouble of mind, under the ſenſe of his wicked and abuſive behaviour to them, fearfully crying out that the judgments of God were upon him, and repeatedly begging their forgiveneſs before many witneſſes [a]. G. Keith's education. 1664. Travels in the work of the miniſtry.

In

[a] Beſſe.

CHAP. VI.

1689. His ſufferings.

In the next year, being under a religious concern to bear his teſtimony to the truth in the great ſteeple-houſe at Aberdeen, in attempting that ſervice he was violently aſſaulted, and knocked down to the ground by James Horne, the bell-ringer. Shortly after which it was remarked that the ſaid Horne going up the ſteeple to ring the bell, ſuddenly fell through a hole above four ſtories high, and was inſtantly killed by the fall, upon the ſame ſpot of the pavement where he had beaten George Keith. We find him afterwards amongſt the number of this perſecuted people at Aberdeen, involved in confiſcations and long impriſonment.

He vindicates the doctrine of the Quakers on ſeveral occaſions.

He was not only a ſufferer in common with his brethren in teſtimony to the truth of his profeſſion; but exerted his talents in defence thereof both in verbal diſputations, and in print on many occaſions. He firſt joined Alexander Jaffray in confuting a virulent invective of George Meldrum in his ſermon againſt the Quakers in 1666. He was coadjutor to Robert Barclay in the diſpute he had with the ſtudents of Aberdeen in defence of his Theſes in 1675. He was likewiſe engaged, together with Stephen Criſp, George Whitehead and William Penn, in a diſpute with the baptiſts in London the preceding year. He alſo wrote and publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes in vindication and explanation of the principles of the people called Quakers, viz. One upon *immediate revelation*; another under the title of *the univerſal free grace of the goſpel aſſerted*. *The way to the city of God*. *The benefit, glory and advantage of ſilent meetings*, &c.

Impriſoned for teaching ſchool.

In 1682 he was informed againſt for preaching, and teaching ſchool at Edmonton without licenſe, at

the quarter ſeſſions for Hertfordſhire, upon which the juſtices tendered him the oath, and upon his refuſal to take it committed him to jail. In the year 1684 he was again impriſoned in newgate, London, for refuſing to ſwear, and continued a priſoner above five months. CHAP. VI. 1689.

Thus for the greateſt part of thirty years had he retained full unity with the ſociety, and not the loweſt degree of eſtimation for his ſervice amongſt them, during which time he never pretended to diſcover any errors or falſe doctrines maintained by them, though he had the fulleſt opportunity; but on the contrary publicly vindicated them. Yet not duly attending to the apoſtle's caution to the Coloſſians, *beware leſt any man ſpoil you through philoſophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt*, affecting to be wiſe beyond what is written or revealed, he became wavering in mind, and was ſhaken from his ſteadfaſtneſs in the faith. Having indulged himſelf too much in curious, uncertain and unprofitable ſpeculation, that inward watchfulneſs which is neceſſary to keep the heart clean and pure, the paſſions in ſubjection, and the life and manners upright and pacific, was ſuſpended. He is ſaid to have imbibed ſome fanciful notions of Van Helmont about the year 1682, concerning *the tranſmigration of ſouls, the reſurrection, &c.* which the people called Quakers have never though it neceſſary to be curiouſly inquiſitive about, as not believing ſubjects, above the inveſtigation of human reaſon and knowledge, to be neceſſary to ſalvation, further than they are clearly revealed in the ſcripture: And looking upon the things which are clearly revealed, to be-

CHAP. VI. 1689.

long to us, and to be ſufficient for ſalvation, have avoided to pry into the ſecret things which belong to divine omniſcience. [a] Finding no room for the propagation of ſuch notions amongſt them, he is ſuppoſed to have let in ſome ſecret jealouſy and contempt, which afterwards broke out in open oppoſition and contention; firſt with individuals, and afterwards with the body at large.

The firſt ſymptom of loſs of ſpiritual ſtrength was diſcovered in his impatience under ſuffering.

[b] After he had taken up Chriſtopher Taylor's ſchool at Edmonton, and was impriſoned at Hertford, he removed to London, and ſought a privileged place to reſide in: but finding this not ſufficient to protect him, being taken and impriſoned in Newgate as above, ſeeing himſelf ſo cloſely purſued and moleſted in his lawful occupation by the ſpirit of perſecution, as yet retaining power to be vexatious to the non-conforming ſubjects; and his ſteadfaſtneſs of faith in divine protection being weakened by airy ſpeculation, and reaſoning with fleſh and blood, he complained now, that as nothing but perſecution was to be met with here, he would ſeek an aſylum in a land of liberty; under which diſpoſition he removed to America.

The apoſtle hath left this cautionary reflection on record as a warning to chriſtians of all denominations and generations, "*Knowledge puffeth "up; but charity edifieth.*" And in this man we have an inſtance, that as we ſuffer ourſelves to

[a] Sewel. [b] J. Whiting.

to be puffed up with our knowledge, we are in danger of loſing that charity, which excelleth all gifts and attainments. George Keith was a man of good natural abilities, improved by a liberal education, clear in comprehenſion and fluent in expreſſion, which gave him in theſe reſpects a ſuperiority over many, or the greater part of his brethren, and would have been the means of continuing his eſtimation as an uſeful member, if he had not been himſelf too conſcious of this ſuperiority, and thereby let in an aſpiring mind, aiming at pre-eminence amongſt them, which when he could not attain, he tranſgreſſed the bounds not only of chriſtian charity, but of common decency.

CHAP. VI.

1689.

He lets in an aſpiring mind.

It is remarkable that it was ſoon after the removal of George Fox, that ſymptoms of ſelf-importance began to diſcover themſelves in George Keith's conduct, which ſuggeſts a conjecture, that he might not be without a ſecret apprehenſion of his own fitneſs to ſucceed to that eſteem and influence in the ſociety, at leaſt in America, which George Fox had held, not of his own ſeeking, nor for himſelf, but from the conviction of his friends, of the many excellent virtues he was endowed with, and the ſpiritual advantages they had received from his faithful example and paſtoral care, they regarded him as the principal of their elder brethren, worthy of double honour; and the influence he thereby acquired, he ſteadily directed to the honour of God, and their edification and eſtabliſhment in pure religion to the laſt.

1691.

Several friends had been concerned to caution George Keith in great chriſtian tenderneſs, of the dangerous conſequences of buſying himſelf in uſeleſs

Several friends concerned to caution him.

CHAP. VI.

1691. uſeleſs ſpeculations, *and queſtions of words which gender to ſtrife*, previous to his removal to America, as I apprehend; where, when he arrived, keeping his latent notions to himſelf, or partly diſcloſing them only to ſuch as he could venture to entruſt therewith as a ſecret, he continued openly to profeſs and vindicate the doctrines of the people called Quakers in ſundry notable tracts, as, *the preſbyterian and independent viſible churches in New England and elſewhere brought to the teſt and examined; a refutation of three oppoſers of truth; the pretended antidote proved poiſon, or the true principles of the chriſtian and proteſtant religion defended againſt Cotton Mather and others; and a ſerious appeal to all the more ſober, impartial and judicious people in New England, in vindication of friends.* Yet in the ſame year that he publiſhed this laſt treatiſe, his ſecret diſguſt at his friends broke out into open diſſent and contention, chiefly, as appears, becauſe he could not obtain that pre-eminence he aſpired after, nor carry things in all caſes according to his own preſcriptions or dictates: for inſtead thereof, ſeveral of his friends, leſs verſed in ſpeculative points, but better eſtabliſhed in practical religion, fearing his falling into danger and error through unwatchfulneſs, were not wanting in brotherly affection gently to communicate their apprehenſions; but he, who, in the preſent exaltedneſs of his mind, looked upon himſelf as their ſuperior in wiſdom and knowledge, and now began to regard his friends with an eye of contempt, ſeems to have thought it beneath him to regard the advice of thoſe, whom he imagined himſelf better qualified to inſtruct; and

He continues to vindicate the doctrines of the people called Quakers.

1692.

Yet in the ſame year diſcovers an open diſſent.

and to have formed a deſign to govern, or to divide.

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He began with objecting to the manner in which the diſcipline of the ſociety was conducted, complaining there was too great a ſlackneſs in the application thereof, and propoſed new regulations for the amendment of the deficiencies, which having drawn up in writing, he preſented to the meeting of miniſters at the yearly meeting; but as they did not fully approve thereof, they propoſed to refer the matter to the conſideration of the yearly meeting of London, which he declined, ſignifying, *he would rather let it drop*. Notwithſtanding this, he conceived aggravated diſguſt at the diſappointment to ſuch a degree, that from this time the ſecret envy and diſlike, which had been rankling in his breaſt, began to break out in captious remarks, and bitter ſarcaſms upon the general conduct of friends, their manner of preaching, and ſuch like matters; not that they were more liable to objection at that time, nor in that place, than, I imagine, they had been all along from the time of his firſt entering into their community; for I cannot diſcover, that any remarkable change appeared in the body of friends, either in Europe or America, in their principles, their manners, or their manner of preaching, which were much the ſame as at their firſt riſe, and as they were all the time while George Keith continued in cloſe fellowſhip with them; but it appears too evident that he was now become a man given to change in all theſe reſpects.

1692. He objects againſt their manner of conducting diſcipline.

Paſſion and prejudice corrupt the heart, and give it a perverſe bias. George Keith, now invidiouſly watching for occaſion againſt friends, took

Begins to quarrel firſt with Thomas Fitzwalter and William Stockdale.

CHAP. VI. 1692.

took exceptions at ſome words uttered by Thomas Fitzwalter and William Stockdale in their public teſtimonies, firſt began to quarrel with them, and charged them with preaching falſe doctrine, in ſetting forth *the light of Chriſt to be ſufficient for ſalvation*, and declared to Thomas Fitzwalter, that he himſelf did not believe, *the light was ſufficient without ſomething elſe*. Which expreſſion Thomas reported to ſome other perſon, for which George brought a complaint againſt him to the monthly meeting. This appears to me a very frivolous cauſe of complaint to bring before any body of men in a judicial capacity, and carries the appearance of a ſpirit luſting to contention, and a mean duplicity in George Keith; for that he ſo expreſſed himſelf was proved by the evidence of ſeveral witneſſes, who were preſent, and yet he denied it to the meeting. The meeting entering into the examination of his complaint, in order to take away all occaſion of cavilling from him, who was now ſtudiouſly ſeeking it, as Thomas had reported nothing but matter of fact, and had the evidence of many witneſſes, they ſaw no cauſe to charge him with aſſerting an untruth; but his manner of procedure in George Keith's abſence, and without firſt endeavouring a reconciliation between themſelves, they judged a wrong proceeding, as being a breach of goſpel order. Thomas very readily acknowledged, that though the charge itſelf was true, the mentioning it, in the manner he had done, was wrong.

Complains of Thomas to the monthly meeting.

He next complains againſt W. Stockdale.

He next complained to the meeting of miniſters againſt William Stockdale, for having ſaid, that his preaching *Chriſt without and Chriſt within was preaching two Chriſts*. William Stockdale denied

denied his uttering the expreſſions in the terms complained of; and on the other hand alledged againſt Keith, that he had treated him in a very contemptuous and abuſive manner, calling him an *ignorant heathen*, and ſeveral other opprobrious appellations. The meeting delivered their opinion, that Stockdale was culpable, and deſerving reproof, for uttering the words he did, they being an offence to ſundry ſound and well-minded friends, and that he ſhould condemn the ſame. And as to George Keith's manner of proceeding againſt him, they could not admit it to be agreeable to goſpel order, he not having dealt with him alone in a private manner, before he proceeded further in his complaint; neither could they hold him excuſable for his indecent expreſſions to William Stockdale, he being older in experience and in years. CHAP. VI. 1692.

Friends in England hearing of theſe differences write their advice thereupon.

By this time friends in England got intelligence of theſe differences, whereupon ſeveral of them in London wrote an epiſtle to their brethren in Penſylvania, earneſtly preſſing them to keep the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace, and guard againſt diſputations upon ſubjects not tending to edification, whereby that charity and brotherly kindneſs, which had hitherto connected them in goſpel-fellowſhip, might be in danger of being weakened or diſſolved. That obedience to the precepts of the goſpel was a better proof of our honouring Chriſt, as a teacher come from God, than airy ſpeculations and controverſies leading to contention about his glorified body in heaven; wiſhing them rather, after the cuſtom of friends from the beginning, to be emulous in the practice of all chriſtian virtues, and ſhew forth the fruits of the ſpirit out of a good converſation,

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verſation, than to be over curious in queſtions of words, miniſtring to ſtrife and contention; reminding them of the ancient and conſtant principle and experience of friends, that the diſpenſation of the goſpel "committed to them, was "a ſpiritual diſpenſation; in nowiſe to oppoſe, "reject or invalidate Jeſus Chriſt's outward "coming, ſuffering, death, reſurrection, aſcenſion and glorified eſtate in the heavens; but "to bring men to partake of the remiſſion "of ſins, reconciliation and eternal redemption, which he hath obtained for us, and for "all men, for whom he died, and gave himſelf "a ranſom, both for Jews and Gentiles, Indians, "Turks and Pagans, without reſpect of perſons "or people. And Chriſt is fully to be preached "unto them, according to the holy ſcriptures, "by them whom he may ſend unto them for "that end; that as the beneſit of his ſufferings extends to all, even to them that have "not the ſcriptures, or outward hiſtory thereof, "they may be told, who was and is their chief "friend, that gave himſelf a ranſom for them, "and hath enlightened them; yet not excluded "thoſe from God's mercy or ſalvation by Chriſt, "*who never had nor may have* the outward knowledge or hiſtory of him, if they ſincerely obey, "and live up to his light; for his light and ſalvation reach to the ends of the earth; yet ſtill "we that have the holy ſcriptures, and thoſe "plain outward confirmed teſtimonies concerning our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, "both as to his coming in the fleſh and in the "ſpirit, have cauſe to be thankful to God for "the peculiar favour, and that theſe ſcriptures "are ſo well preſerved to poſterity; and we be-

"ſeech

" ſeech you, *let us keep to the plainneſs and ſim-* CHAP.
" *plicity of ſcripture language in all diſcourſes* VI.
" *about matters of faith, divinity and doctrine*; 1692.
" and ſincerely believe, own and confeſs our
" bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the Son
" of the living God, in all his comings, appear-
" ances, properties, offices and works, both for
" us and in us."

This epiſtle, which is very long, concludes with the excellent counſel of the apoſtle, " If " there be therefore any conſolation in Chriſt; " if any comfort of love; if any fellowſhip of " the ſpirit; if any bowels and mercies, fulfil " ye my joy, that ye be like-minded, having " the ſame love, being of one accord and one " mind; let nothing be done through ſtrife or " vain glory, but in lowlineſs of mind, let " every man eſteem others better than him-" ſelf."

" Signed by

" George Whitehead,
" John Field,
" William Bingley,
" Alexander Seaton,
" Patrick Livingſton."
" Samuel Waldenfield,
" Benjamin Antrobus,
" John Vaughton,
" Daniel Monro,

Their counſel ſlighted by George Keith.

The brotherly counſel and concern of friends in England, although marked throughout with clear reaſoning, and chriſtian tenderneſs and moderation, and earneſt zeal to heal the breach or prevent the widening thereof, had no better effect than the honeſt endeavours of friends in America had before. Ambition and bitterneſs of ſpirit had ſo thoroughly poſſeſſed George Keith, that their ſuggeſtions had greater power over

CHAP. VI. 1692.

over him than the beſt admonitions. Being baffled in his principal aim, that of taking the lead in the ſociety, he ſet no bounds to his malicious invectives, ſuffering his paſſion to hurry him on to vent his reſentment in illiberal reproaches, in violation of decency and common ſenſe.

At another meeting with him he openly avowed the doctrines, which before he had endeavoured to conceal, by denying his having ſaid what was proved he did ſay, as in the caſe of Thomas Fitzwalter, and roundly charged ſeveral friends with unſoundneſs of faith. [d] Thomas Lloyd told him, in behalf of himſelf and others, whom he had accuſed, that they believed all things written in the ſcriptures concerning our Saviour's birth, death and reſurrection, &c. in the outward; to which he ſmartly replied, but is it abſolutely and indiſpenſably neceſſary to all and every one of mankind to believe it? adding, that unleſs he did ſo believe, he would not own him as a chriſtian; but ſaid, he might be a devout heathen.

Thomas Lloyd was appointed by William Penn to the ſtation of deputy governor of Penſylvania during his abſence, and filled the ſtation with integrity and repute. His conſequence, of courſe, muſt be conſiderable both in religious and civil ſociety. His particular patronage of George Keith, and unremitted endeavours to ſerve him, previous to his violating of the unity of ſociety, deſerved his grateful reſpect; yet becauſe he gave him no countenance, but joined his weight and influence againſt his intemperate conduct in his oppoſition, Keith could not bridle his temper or his

He treats Thomas Lloyd and other magiſtrates with illiberal language.

[d] S. Smith.

his tongue within the bounds of common decency, even to him, but at a ſucceeding meeting, gave the looſe rein to his petulancy ſo far as to call him *impudent man, and pitiful governor;* aſking him why he did not ſend him to jail; telling him his back had long itched for a whipping; menacing him and his friends, that he would expoſe them in print all over America, if not over Europe. One of the magiſtrates, remarkable for his moderation and pacific diſpoſition, he called *an impudent raſcal.* CHAP. VI. 1692.

This conduct betrayed the paſſion and malignity of a violent party ſpirit, and could mean nothing but an eſſay, whether he could provoke them to ſome act of authority as magiſtrates, whereby he might take an occaſion to raiſe a cry of perſecution againſt them; and men of leſs temper, and leſs regard to religion, might very probably, in the like circumſtances, have complied with his deſire, and cured his itch, and have vindicated themſelves alſo againſt the charge of perſecution, by alledging that reviling is not religion, nor reproachful appellations a conſcientious ſcruple: But the men with whom he had to deal were of a very different caſt, being of thoſe who were reſtrained by their religious principles, conformable to primitive chriſtianity, from returning railing for railing; being defamed they entreated; they bore his reproaches with patience, exerted their endeavours to pacify him, and recover him to a better mind, and to prevent an open breach, in a ſpirit of meekneſs; but all their endeavours were in vain.

He reflects upon the meeting of miniſters.

At length, after many vilifying expreſſions to particular perſons, as occaſion raiſed his wrath, he went ſo far as to bring a moſt reproachful charge

CHAP. VI. 1692. charge againſt a reputable part of the body at large, charging a meeting of miniſters with coming together *to cloke hereſies aud deceit, and that there were more damnable hereſies and doctrines of devils among the Quakers than among any profeſſion of proteſtants.*

This reflection, which is mere aſſertion without ſhadow of proof, evidences the bitterneſs of his ſpirit, urging him to expreſſions pointed in malice, to provoke, without regard to candour or to truth: Againſt the validity whereof, and in defence of the people called Quakers, we can perhaps bring no authority more appoſite to the point than his own, in his ſerious appeal printed in Philadelphia in this very ſame year 1692, wherein he fully condemned in others thoſe meaſures, he was now ſo fondly purſuing.

Serious appeal, page 6.—" Notwithſtanding " Cotton Mather's ſtrong aſſeverations againſt " us, as if we denied all or moſt of the fun- " damental articles of the chriſtian and pro- " teſtant faith, yet he ſhall never be able to prove " it, that we are guilty of this his ſo extremely " raſh and uncharitable charge, either as in re- " ſpect of the body of that people, or in reſpect " of any particular writers or publiſhers of our " doctrines and principles, and preachers among " us, generally owned and approved by us, as " men of a ſound judgment and underſtanding. " And for his citations out of the Quakers' " printed books and treatiſes, I would have you " to conſider, that moſt of them are all bor- " rowed and taken, not from our own books, " but from our profeſſed adverſaries, men known " well enough to be poſſeſſed with prejudice " againſt us; ſuch as Thomas Hicks and John " Faldo

" Faldo and others, whom our friends in Old CHAP.
" England, and particularly George Whitehead VI.
" and William Penn, have largely anſwered." 1692.

Hitherto friends had treated with him in a private way in much meekneſs and patience; but it was properly judged that this public inſult demanded public reparation, which he contemptuouſly refuſing to make, the monthly meeting of Philadelphia proceeded to diſown him, and as the teſtimony they publiſhed on this occaſion exhibits a plain narration of the caſe and the reaſons of their procedure, and his offenſive conduct, it juſtly claims a place in this work.

" To the ſeveral monthly and quarterly meetings
" in Penſylvania, Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey, and
" elſewhere, as there may be occaſion.

" Beloved Friends,

" In tender love, and with ſpirits bowed down
" before the Lord, is this our ſalutation unto
" you; earneſtly deſiring your growth, and
" daily preſervation in the ancient truth, and in
" the ſimplicity of the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus
" Chriſt, and our hope and breathings are that
" no inſinuations or wiles of the enemy ſhall
" prevail to turn you aſide from your ſteadfaſt-
" neſs, or to cauſe you to eſteem lightly of the
" rock, and way of God's ſalvation unto you;
" but that you be kept in the light and life,
" which was and is the juſt man's path, to the
" end of our days. Amen!

" Now dear friends it is with ſorrow of ſpi-
" rits, and grief of ſouls, that we ſignify unto
" you the tedious exerciſe, and vexatious per-
" plexity,

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" plexity, we have met with in our late friend " George Keith, for ſeveral months paſt: So it " hath happened, friends, leſt any fleſh ſhould " glory, but become ſilent before the Lord, that " this *once eminent man and inſtrument of renown* " in the hand of the Lord, whilſt he kept his " firſt habitation, and knew the government of " truth over his own ſpirit, and witneſſed the " ſame to be a bridle to his tongue, was then " ſerviceable, both in pen and ſpeech, to the " churches of Chriſt: But now and of late it is " too obvious and apparent, that being degene- " rated from the low, meek and peaceable ſpi- " rit of Chriſt Jeſus, and grown cool in charity " and love towards his brethren, he is gone into " a ſpirit of enmity, wrath and ſelf-exaltation, " contention and janglings, and as a perſon " without the fear of God before his eyes, and " without regard to his chriſtian brethren, and " letting looſe the reins of an extravagant " tongue, he hath broken out into many un- " godly ſpeeches, railing accuſations and paſ- " ſionate threatenings towards many of his " brethren, and elders, and that upon ſlender " occaſions: and when ſome in chriſtian duty " have laid before him his unſavoury words " and unchriſtian frame, he hath treated them " with vile words, and abuſive language, ſuch " as a perſon of common civility would loath: " It hath been too frequent with him, and that " in a tranſport of heat and paſſion, to call ſome " of his brethren in the miniſtry, and other el- " ders, and that upon ſmall provocations (if " any) fools, ignorant heathens, infidels, ſilly " ſouls, liars, hereticks, rotten ranters, Mug- " gletonians, and other names of that infamous " ſtrain,

" ſtrain, thereby to our grief, foaming out his CHAP.
" ſhame: And further, his anger and envy, be- VI.
" ing cruel againſt us, and not contenting him-
" ſelf with his harſhneſs againſt perſons, he pro- 1692.
" ceeded in bitterneſs of ſpirit to charge our
" meetings with being come together to cloak
" hereſy and deceit; and publiſhing openly ſe-
" veral times, that there were more doctrine of
" devils, and damnable hereſies, among the Qua-
" kers, than among any profeſſion among the pro-
" teſtants. He hath long objected againſt our diſ-
" cipline, even ſoon after his coming among us;
" and having prepared a draught of his own,
" and the ſame not finding the expected recep-
" tion, he ſeemed diſguſted. Since which he
" hath often quarrelled with us about confeſ-
" ſions, declaring that *he knew none given forth*
" *by the body of friends to his ſatisfaction*, and
" often charged moſt of us with being unſound
" in the faith. We have offered in ſeveral meet-
" ings for his ſatisfaction, and to prevent ſtrife
" amongſt us, and for preſerving the peace of the
" church, to deliver a confeſſion of our chriſtian
" faith, in the words of our Lord and Saviour
" Jeſus Chriſt, the author of the chriſtian faith,
" and in the words of the apoſtles, and diſciples,
" his faithful followers; or we would declare
" our belief in teſtimonies of our ancient friends
" and faithful brethren, who were generally
" received by us; or we would concur and
" agree upon a confeſſion, and have it tranſ-
" mitted for the approbation of the yearly meet-
" ing here, or the yearly meeting at London;
" yea, it was offered unto him at the ſame time,
" that a confeſſion concerning the main matters
" of controverſy ſhould be given out of a book

" of

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" of his own; but all was ſlighted as inſufficient.
" The Lord knows the trouble which we have
" had with this unruly member; and the open-
" neſs of our hearts, and well-wiſhes towards
" him, notwithſtanding his rage and violence
" againſt us, and of the endeavours of many in
" this place, to have gained upon him by a
" friendly converſe, and by other means, not
" inconſiderable to a brotherly freedom: But
" our labour hitherto ſeems to be as water ſpilt
" upon a rock. And this meeting having or-
" derly and tenderly dealt with him for his abu-
" ſive language and diſorderly behaviour, he
" hath not only ſlighted all applications of gain-
" ing him to a ſenſe of his ill treatment and miſ-
" carriages, but in an inſulting manner ſaid to
" the friends appointed by the meeting to admo-
" niſh him, *that he trampled the judgment of the*
" *meeting under his feet as dirt:* And hath of
" late ſet up a ſeparate meeting here, where he
" hath, like an open oppoſer, not only reviled
" ſeveral friends by expoſing their religious re-
" putations in mixed auditories of ſome hun-
" dreds, endeavouring to render them, and
" friends here, by the preſs, and otherwiſe, a
" ſcorn to the profane, and the ſong of the
" drunkards; but he hath traduced and vilified
" our worthy travelling friends James Dickenſon
" and Thomas Wilſon, in their powerful and
" ſavoury miniſtry, whoſe ſervices not only here,
" but in moſt meetings in England, Scotland
" and Ireland, are well known to have a ſeal in
" the hearts of many thouſands. He hath alſo
" within a few weeks appeared in oppoſition,
" as it were, to the body of friends, by putting
" on his hat, when our well received and re-
" commended

" commended friend James Dickenſon was at CHAP.
" prayer, and that in a meeting of near a VI.
" thouſand friends, and others, and ſo going
" out of the meeting to the great diſquiet there- 1692.
" of, and to the drawing ſome ſcores into the
" ſame oppoſition with him, by his ill ex-
" ample. And by thus perſiſting in his repeated
" oppoſitions, hard ſpeeches, and continued ſe-
" paration, and labouring like an unwearied ad-
" verſary, to widen the breach made by him,
" and ſo abuſing ſome of the neighbouring
" meetings, by being as yet under that cover of
" being owned by us; we are hereby brought
" under a religious conſtraint and to prevent
" other meetings of being further injured by
" him, to give forth this teſtimony, ſtrained as
" it were from us by his many and violent pro-
" vocations, viz. That we cannot own him in
" ſuch ungodly ſpeeches and diſorderly beha-
" viour, or in his ſeparate meetings; and that
" we diſown the ſame as proceeding from a
" wrong ſpirit, which brings into diſorder in-
" wardly, and leads into diſtraction and confu-
" ſion outwardly; and until he condemn and
" decline the ſame, we cannot receive him
" in his public miniſtry, and would have him
" ceaſe to offer his gift as ſuch amongſt us, or
" elſewhere amongſt friends, until he be recon-
" ciled to his offended brethren. And as to
" thoſe few of our brethren in the gift of the
" miniſtry, who are gone out with George
" Keith, into his uncharitable and dividing ſpirit
" (the miſerable effects whereof many of us have
" ſufficiently known in Old England and other
" parts) our judgment is, that while they con-

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" tinue ſuch, they become unqualified to the " work of the goſpel, as degenerating from the " guidance of God's bleſſed and peaceable ſpirit " in their hearts (from whence proceeds the ef- " fectual New Teſtament miniſtry) and be- " ing turned from the peaceable fruits thereof, " are gone into uncharitableneſs and conten- " tion.

" And now all you who have walked in fel- " lowſhip and communion with us, and are " drawn aſide through inconſideration or other- " wiſe into this ſpirit of ſeparation and preju- " dice againſt our meetings, orderly eſtabliſhed, " and wherein we have been often mutually " refreſhed together, we cannot but in the fear " of God, and in love to your ſouls, admoniſh " you alſo of the inſecurity of your preſent ſtate, " and that therein we cannot have unity with " you, and unleſs you return from under that " ſpirit, dryneſs and barrenneſs from the Lord " will be your reward. And ſo dear friends " we exhort you all to behave yourſelves in " the ſpirit of meekneſs, and peaceable truth, " upon all occaſions, but more eſpecially upon " any diſcourſe or conference with any of " them who are diſcontented among you, or " have ſtarted aſide from you; and avoid all " heats and contentions, in matters of faith and " worſhip; and let not the ſalt of the covenant " be wanting in your words and actions, for " thereby the ſavour of your converſation will " reach the witneſs of God in them. The grace " of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all. " Amen!

" Given

" Given forth by the meeting of public friends " in Philadelphia the 20th of the 4th month, " 1692.

1692.

" Thomas Lloyd,
" John Willsford,
" Nicholas Waln,
" William Watson,
" George Maris,
" Thomas Duckett,
" Joshua Fearne,
" Even Morris,
" Richard Walter,
" John Symcock,
" Griffith Owen,
" John Bown,
" Henry Willis,
" Paul Sanders,
" John Blunston,
" William Cooper,
" Thomas Thackory,
" William Byles,
" Samuel Jennings,
" John Delaval,
" William Yeardly,
" Joseph Kirkbride,
" Walter Fawcit,
" Hugh Roberts,
" Robert Owen,
" William Walker,
" John Lynam,
" George Gray."

G. Keith sets up a separate meeting.

George Keith having drawn a considerable party to join him in his opposition, now set up a separate meeting. This party adopted the name of Quakers, but by way of distinction assumed to themselves the ostentatious appellation of *Christian Quakers and Friends.* [t] This separate meeting soon published a counter testimony signed by twenty-eight of them, disowning all those concerned in denying George Keith; and soon after that another paper, which they entitled, *An expostulation with Samuel Jennings, Thomas Lloyd and the rest of the twenty-eight unjust judges and signers of the paper of condemnation against George Keith and his friends.* Both these papers were

Publisheth a counter testimony.

[t] Vide, Appeal from the twenty-eight Judges, &c. after the Postscript, pages 6, 7, 8, 9.

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drawn up with artfulneſs, and calculated to catch the humours of the unwary and unſteady; and being circulated, and puffed with all the induſtry of party zeal, a wide ſchiſm enſued; much paſſion and rancour on one ſide, occaſioned much painful exerciſe, vigilance, circumſpection and patience on the other. They went on venting their malevolence in one defamatory libel, after another; injuriouſly mutilating and culling ſuch paſſages out of friends writings, public teſtimonies and private converſations, as might beſt ſerve their own partial purpoſes, making their own comments, and putting their own meaning upon theſe paſſages, in order by ſuch unfair proceedure to make their opponents appear unſound in principle and ridiculous in practice; ſacrificing truth and equity to the gratification of their envy.

The government of this province at this time being placed in hands which William Penn had ſelected, I preſume, from the moſt ſuitable in rank, character and abilities amongſt thoſe, who had accompanied him to his new colony, of whom the greater number being of the people called Quakers, many of this people, and ſeveral of their miniſters, were put into offices of magiſtracy and of government. This expanded the field for party prejudice to range more widely. George Keith had early brought over to his party one William Bradford, the printer there, whereby he had a ready means of publiſhing all his defamatory writings; and his preſent diſpoſition of mind inſtigating him to lay hold upon every occaſion to depreciate the Quakers, and deprive them of that place of eſtimation with the people which their public and private conduct

duct had juſtly procured them, took occaſion from ſome late public tranſactions*, to reflect upon and calumniate the principal magiſtrates for their judicial proceedings in reſtraining robbers and bringing murderers to juſtice. [s] In this attack of the magiſtrates, George Keith ſeemed to have two objects in view: to gratify his malevolence againſt the Quakers, and encreaſe the number of his adherents; a point of great conſequence with him; for ſeveral of the Menoniſts from the county of Meurs (being of that claſs of baptiſts who hold magiſtracy unlawful for a chriſtian to exerciſe) had removed into Penſylvania, and by theſe means he brought ſeveral of theſe to ſide with him, or favour his cauſe. But this liberty (or more properly the abuſe thereof) taken by Keith and his partiſans, put the magiſtrates under the neceſſity to vindicate the laws and excellent conſtitution of their country, under which they acted, and which, by the united teſtimony of the judicious and impartial part of mankind, they ſupported with honour and juſtice,

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1692. G. Keith reflects upon the magiſtrates for their judicial proceedings.

* In the beginning of the year 1691, one Babit and his crew ſtole a ſmall ſloop from a wharf in Philadelphia, and going down the river committed divers robberies, of which information being given to the magiſtrates, three of them iſſued a warrant to take them in order to bring them to legal trial, by virtue whereof they were taken, and brought to juſtice. The magiſtrates, who granted the warrant, being ſome or all of them of thoſe called Quakers, George Keith and his adherents made their comments upon this as a proceeding inconſiſtent with their principles againſt bearing arms, and dreſt it in the moſt aggravating colours, which party prejudice could invent, although the moſt he could make of it was, that a Peter Boſs with a few more took them, without gun, ſword or ſpear.—Smith.

[s] Sewel.

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tice, for the benefit and peace of the ſtate, to proceed againſt them. Firſt William Bradford the printer, and John Mc. Comb the publiſher, of a reflecting paper, were by a warrant from five magiſtrates taken up, examined and committed to priſon, but diſcharged without being brought to trial; and the latter was afterwards ſo juſt as to give a true ſtate of the caſe. George Keith and Thomas Budd were alſo preſented by the grand jury of Philadelphia, as authors of another tract of like tendency; this preſentment being proſecuted, the matter was brought to trial, and the parties fined 5l. each; but the fines were not levied.

1692. The printer and publiſher of a reflecting paper impriſoned.

G. Keith and T. Budd preſented by the grand jury, and fined.

Theſe proceedings without doubt added fewel to the flame, and exaſperated theſe men, and their adherents, to repreſent them with the uſual partiality of the ſpirit of party, to raiſe a clamour of perſecution againſt the magiſtrates, who conſidering the miſchievous deſign and tendency of theſe publications, to introduce diſorder and faction into this ſtate in its infancy, thought it neceſſary to prevent the fatal conſequence of ſuch licentious meaſures by publiſhing the following vindication of their aforeſaid proceedings.

" At a private ſeſſions, held for the county of " Philadelphia the 25th of the 6th month, 1692, " before

" Arthur Cooke,
" Samuel Jennings,
" Samuel Richardſon,
" Humphrey Murray,
" Anthony Morris,
" Robert Ewer,
} Juſtices of the county,

Whereas

" Whereas the government of this province CHAP.
" being by the late king of England's peculiar VI.
" favour veſted and ſince continued in governor
" Penn, who thought fit to make his and our 1692.
" worthy friend Thomas Lloyd his deputy go-
" vernor, by, and under whom the magiſtrates
" do act in the government,—and whereas it
" hath been proved before us, that George Keith
" being a reſident here, did contrary to his
" duty publicly revile the ſaid deputy governor,
" by calling him an impudent man, telling
" him he was not fit to be a governor, and that
" his name would ſtink, with many other ſlight-
" ing and abuſive expreſſions, both to him and
" the magiſtrates (and he that uſeth ſuch exor-
" bitancy of ſpeech towards our ſaid governor,
" may be ſuppoſed will eaſily dare to call the
" members of council, and magiſtrates, impu-
" dent raſcals, as he hath lately called one in an
" open aſſembly, that was conſtituted by the
" proprietary to be a magiſtrate,) and he alſo
" charges the magiſtrates, who are miniſters
" here, with ingroſſing the miniſterial power
" into their hands, that they might uſurp au-
" thority over him, ſaying alſo, he hoped in
" God he ſhould ſhortly ſee their power taken
" from them: all which he acted in an indecent
" manner.

" And further, the ſaid George Keith with
" ſeveral of his adherents, having ſome few days
" ſince, with unuſual inſolence, by a printed
" ſheet called *An Appeal, &c.* traduced, and
" vilely miſrepreſented the induſtry, care, rea-
" dineſs and vigilance of ſome magiſtrates, and
" others here, in their late proceedings, againſt
" the privateers Babbit and his crew in

" order

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" order to bring them to condign puniſhment,
" whereby to diſcourage ſuch attempts for the
" future; and have thereby alſo defamed
" and arraigned the determinations of the prin-
" cipal judicature againſt murderers, and not
" only ſo, but alſo by wrong inſinuations, hath
" laboured to poſſeſs the readers of their pamph-
" let, that it is inconſiſtent for thoſe who are
" miniſters of the goſpel, to act as magiſtrates,
" which if granted, will render our ſaid pro-
" prietary incapable of the powers given him by
" the ſaid king's letters patents, and ſo proſti-
" tute the validity of every act of government,
" more eſpecially in the executive part thereof,
" to the courteſy and cenſure of all factious
" ſpirits and male-contents under the ſame.

" Now foraſmuch as we, as well as others
" have borne, and ſtill do patiently indure the
" ſaid George Keith and his adherents, in their
" many perſonal reflections againſt us, and their
" groſs revilings of our religious ſociety, yet we
" cannot (without the violation of our truſt to the
" king and governor, as alſo to the inhabitants of
" this government) paſs by, or connive at, ſuch
" part of the ſaid pamphlet and ſpeeches, that
" have a tendency to ſedition, and diſturbance
" of the peace, as alſo to the ſubverſion of the
" preſent government, or to the aſperſing of the
" magiſtrates thereof.

" Therefore for the undeceiving of all people,
" we have thought fit by this public writing, not
" only to ſignify that our procedure againſt the
" perſons, now in the ſheriffs cuſtody, as well as
" what we intend againſt others concerned (in
" its proper place) reſpects only that part of the
" ſaid printed ſheet, which appears to have the
" tendency

" tendency aforeſaid, and not any part relating CHAP.
" to differences in religion, but alſo theſe are VI.
" to caution ſuch, who are well affected to the
" ſecurity, peace and legal adminiſtration of juſ- 1692.
" tice in this place, that they give no counte-
" nance to any revilers, and contemners of au-
" thority, magiſtrates or magiſtracy, as alſo to
" warn all other perſons that they forbear the
" further publiſhing and ſpreading of the ſaid
" pamphlets, as they will anſwer the contrary
" at their peril.

" Given under our hands and ſeal of the
" county, the day, year and place aforeſaid."

As George Keith perſevered after all in the ſame line of conduct, the general meetings thought it their duty to confirm the judgment and teſtimony of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, whereby they had diſowned him. Firſt the quarterly meeting of miniſters held at Philadelphia the 20th of the 4th month, 1692: And afterwards the yearly meeting for Penſylvania and New Jerſey, held in Burlington the 7th of the 7th month following, publiſhed their reſpective teſtimonies of approbation, of, and unity with the proceedings of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia in his caſe. So that being now publickly diſowned by the meetings repreſentative of the whole body of friends in thoſe parts of America where he dwelt, and the meetings of which he was a member; we are now to conſider him no longer as a member of this ſociety, but as an open and profeſſed adverſary, and leader of a ſect in oppoſition to them: yet he would ſtill lay claim to the name, although he had ſeparated from them, and made a dangerous

ſchiſm,

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ſchiſm, alledging his diſſatisfaction was only with ſome unſound Quakers in America; but he was in unity with all faithful friends in England.

So when ſtrangers from Europe or other parts came on religious viſits into thoſe countries, he would affect unity with them, and endeavour to ingratiate himſelf into their favourable opinion; but as ſoon as they diſcovered any diſlike of his proceedings, he would give them little better treatment, than he did the coloniſts. Two of theſe, Thomas Everdon and Richard Hoſkins, travelling at this time in Penſylvania in the exerciſe of their miniſtry, being well qualified miniſters, and men of meek and humble ſpirits, with whom, particularly the former, he ſaid, he had good unity: Yet two days after being at a meeting, where they were concerned in their miniſtry, to the edification of their brethren, he rudely and openly oppoſed them, calling out ſeveral times as they were proceeding in their teſtimonies, hypocrites! hypocrites! And Thomas Everdon, with whom he had ſo lately profeſſed his unity, he called in the face of the aſſembly, conſiſting of ſeveral hundreds, *the greateſt hypocrite that ever ſtood upon two legs.*

Thomas Wilſon alſo and James Dickenſon from Cumberland, Great Britain, arrived about this time on a chriſtian viſit to their friends in North America; and being miniſters eminently qualified with experience and abilities to miniſter to the edification of their brethren, their arrival at this ſeaſon was of great ſervice in theſe provinces; both to recover and confirm the wavering, and to admoniſh Geo. Keith, and thoſe that joined him, of the hurt to themſelves and reproach to religion, which muſt neceſſarily follow

low their giving way to ſuch intemperance of ſpirit and conduct. Thomas Wilſon hereby incurred George Keith's greateſt reſentment at firſt; but afterwards James Dickenſon, to whom he profeſſed a great amity and regard, became equally obnoxious thereto, the occaſion whereof will appear by the following extract from Thomas Wilſon's journal. CHAP. VI. 1692.

"We went to Philadelphia, where we found "the difference between George Keith and "friends broke out to an open ſeparation, he "having gathered a company to himſelf, and "ſet up a ſeparate meeting, which was cauſe of "great exerciſe to faithful friends; and he ſee-"ing we did not go to his meeting, ſent us a "challenge to diſpute, which we readily com-"plied with, and had a meeting with him and "his party, a great many faithful friends ac-"companying us: We ſat a while in ſilence to "hear his charges againſt friends, viz. that "ſome of them were not ſound in faith, doc-"trine and principle, but did not prove it, nor "ſuffer friends to anſwer him, but went on in "railing: We made remarks, though ſaid no-"thing, which raiſed a great deſire in him and "his abettors to have another meeting with "me and my companion, which we readily "agreed to.

"Sometime after having divers friends along "with us, we met again with the ſaid George "Keith, and the chief of his abettors; and "being quietly ſet to hear what he had to ſay, "he advanced his former charge againſt friends, "as being unſound in faith, doctrine and prin-"ciple, unto which I anſwered, ſaying, *No error "in faith, doctrine or principle of particular men*

"(or

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" *(or perſons) was a ſufficient reaſon for him to* " *ſet up a ſeparate meeting.* He oppoſed me; " then I aſked liberty to be heard, and told " him to this effect: *If he and his company were* " *ſound in faith and doctrine, and men of God,* " *they ſhould have kept up their teſtimony for the* " *Lord in the meeting; and if there muſt have been* " *a ſeparation, ſuch unſound men (or perſons)* " would have gone away from friends, as thoſe " did formerly, of whom *John* ſaid, *they went* " *out from us, but they were not of us, for if* " *they had been of us, they would no doubt have* " *continued with us, but they went out that they* " *might be made manifeſt, that they were not all of* " *us.* I alſo aſked them, *whether ever they knew* " *faithful friends* in England *leave their meet-* " *ing, and ſet up a ſeparate meeting?* Thus we " left the diſpute at that time, and went to viſit " the meetings of friends in the *Welch* tract or " plantation, and to and fro in the country; ſo " returned again to Philadelphia, and had a " third meeting (very large) with *Keith* and his " party.—I told them, *they were gone from the* " *Lord in an airy flouriſh, and the wit of man,* " *and had ſet up a ſeparate meeting, but in a* " *little time the ſun of righteouſneſs would ſhine* " *amongſt them, and drive away the miſty doc-* " *trines of men, and that they* (meaning the ſe- " paratiſts) *ſhould dwindle, die away, and come* " *to nothing, except ſuch who were moſt honeſt* " (towards God) *who ſhould return to truth and* " *friends;* which in a little time was fulfilled in " both reſpects.

" Now leaving friends at *Philadelphia*, we " went into the country to a meeting, to which " George Keith came, and aſked me where we " would

" would be on the firſt day? ſaying alſo, that he " had appointed a meeting to be the next firſt " day at *Croſswix*; and finding freedom, I went " thither, but my companion *James Dickenſon* " found drawings from the Lord to go to *Phi-* " *ladelphia*, and be at the meeting there that " firſt day, to which George Keith came con- " trary to his appointment, and leaving his ſe- " parate meeting, met with friends in their large " meeting-houſe, and preached fawningly, as " though he and *James Dickenſon* were in unity, " but after he had done, *James* ſtood up in " great authority in the Lord's *power*, and con- " futed *George*'s doctrine and practice, ſetting " truth over him and his party, and opened the " myſtery of ſalvation to the people, to their " great ſatisfaction; after which *George Keith* " went away in great wrath, and the people " who were not friends, being many, cried " aloud, *Give way and let the devil come out*, for " the little *black* man from *England* has got the " day; after which *George* called his party toge- " ther to their meeting-houſe, and told them " that *James Dickenſon* had never appeared " againſt him till that day, but had then made " himſelf equal with *Thomas Wilſon* (meaning in " oppoſition to him, &c.")

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In ſhort George Keith had ſuffered his paſſion and prejudice to imbitter his mind to ſuch a degree, that few or none under the name of a Quaker, whoſe virtues and ſervices placed them in a rank of eſtimation, and were too ſteadfaſt in the faith to countenance his proceedings, eſcaped his revilings and calumnies: Since his being diſowned, he ſpent his time about Burlington, Philadelphia, and other places adjacent, amongſt

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amongſt his diſciples, writing in his own and their defence, and eſtabliſhing them as well as he could in his novel doctrines: But the matter of his being diſowned by ſo many meetings* ſitting very uneaſy upon him, after cauſing ſo much trouble and diſſenſion amongſt a people, reputable for the peace and good order in general maintained by them, in America, he ſet ſail for England in the beginning of the year 1694, accompanied by his intimate friend and aſſociate Thomas Budd, in order to lay his complaint before the yearly meeting in London, and as the ſequel proved, to endeavour to foment contention and diſorder among friends in England, as he had done in America: Where leaving him to purſue his journey, it ſeems proper to break off this diſagreeable narrative, to bring forward the affairs and tranſactions of friends in England during this period, and thenceforward.

* Beſide the monthly and quarterly meetings of Philadelphia, and the yearly meeting of Burlington, already mentioned, friends of Bucks county, of Maryland, Long-Iſland and others, had teſtified their diſunity with the proceedings of George Keith and his adherents.

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Account of Thomas Story's Convincement.—His Birth and Education.—Brought up to the Study of the Law.—He conceives Offence at ſome Ceremonies in the public Worſhip.—And declines attending it.—He goes to a Meeting of the People called Quakers.—In which feeling a divine Power attending his Mind, he ſoon after enters into their Society.—Receives a Gift in the Miniſtry, and travels much in the Exerciſe thereof.—Life and Character of Stephen Criſp.—Applications for an Affirmation Act.—Death of Queen Mary.—Declaration of the People called Quakers, &c.

IN this year Thomas Story joined himſelf in ſociety with the people called Quakers, whoſe convincement was not owing to the miniſtry of any inſtrument; but to the immediate operation of the grace of God in his own heart, of which himſelf hath given a remarkable narrative in the journal of his own life. He was born at Juſtice-town, near Carliſle, in the county of Cumberland, where he had the advantage of a liberal education, being deſigned by his father for the ſtudy of the law. He had an early inclination to ſolitude, which he ſometimes ſpent in religious thoughtfulneſs, and frequently in reading the holy ſcriptures, which he prized and delighted in above all books, eſpecially the New Teſtament, not only at this time, but in the ſucceeding

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Account of Thomas Story's convincement.

His birth and education.

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ceeding ſtages of his life, when in repute for the excellency of his underſtanding and his extenſive learning.

1691. But his ſolitude was interrupted by a plan of education accounted genteel, but, in his opinion, not well calculated to promote religious enquiries or experience; being put to learn fencing and muſic, by which he not only found his mind drawn away from ſerious conſiderations, but he contracted ſociety, which was not favourable to religion.

Deſigned for a lawyer. He was next placed with a counſellor in the country to commence his ſtudies in the law; preparatory to his entering one of the inns of court for the completion thereof, where being much in the country, in a ſober and religious family of the moſt moderate ſort of Preſbyterians, he had again the advantage of ſolitude and little company, and that innocent, ſo that he recovered his former ſerioufneſs in a good degree. And though he indulged himſelf at times in ſome youthful airs, yet through ſecret grace he was preſerved from groſs evils, and his agreeable manners gained him reſpect with all the family.

He received his education as to religion in the church of England, but as his mind, intent upon inveſtigating truth, was illuminated with a diſcovery of ſome practices which appeared to him relicks of ſuperſtition, and in no wiſe conducive to advance pure religion, it occaſioned him ſome offence and ſome doubts of the propriety thereof. For the family removing from the country to Carliſle, he was diligent in attending the public worſhip, eſpecially at the cathedral, where the turning their faces toward the eaſt at the

Conceives offence at ſome ceremonies in the public worſhip.

the repetition of the apoſtle's creed; and at the mention of the word Jeſus bowing and kneeling toward the altar-table (on which were two common prayer books in folio, and over them painted on the wall I. H. S.) were ceremonies which, he not comprehending the uſe or benefit of, gave him uneaſineſs, as eſteeming them relics of Popery; and although he continued to go thither a little longer, yet he could not comply with ſeveral of the ceremonies uſed there. CHAP. VII. 1691.

Afterwards being invited to a chriſtening (ſo termed) of a relation's child, he conceived additional offence at the ceremony of baptizing the infant, as apprehending, we have neither example nor precept in ſcripture for the manner then practiſed in that ceremony. At infant baptiſm.

Being ſtill attentive to the reproofs of inſtruction, which are the way to life, he felt them a law condemning thoſe thoughts, expreſſions, paſſions and affections, which are fixed in the firſt nature, and rooted in the carnal mind; and experienced that ſpiritual warfare begun, wherein he felt the law in his members warring againſt the law in his mind, and ſaw and felt many things in himſelf, unnoticed by any man, but clearly diſcovered by the meaſure of light he was favoured with, to be obſtructions to his growth in religion, and which were to be ſubdued and conſumed by the ſpirit of judgment and of burning; the luſt of the fleſh, and of the eye, and the pride of life, the produce of every ſoil, and which in him had much to feed upon; the elegant airs of a youth well bred, ſtrength, activity and comelineſs of perſon; mental endowments, and competent acquiſition of literature; the glory, advancements and preferments of the

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world ſpreading their nets before him, and the friendſhip of the world beginning to court him with flattering addreſs.

1691. Forſakes his former acquaintance.

But through the illumination of divine light, and the aſſiſtance of the grace of God, he was enabled to deny all theſe worldly luſts, and to attain moral righteouſneſs, and ſequeſter himſelf from all his former acquaintances, whoſe manners and converſation, though not vicious (for ſuch he never affected) yet as they had not the knowledge of God, became burdenſome and irkſome to him, in the preſent ſerious and enquiring ſtate of his mind.

As he followed on to know the Lord, he was favoured with deeper and clearer manifeſtations of the purity of true religion, and to the ſpiritual eye it was diſcovered, that the Son of God was not yet effectually revealed in him, nor the old man by the power of the holy croſs ſufficiently mortified and ſlain; which encreaſed his internal enquiry after eſſential truth, and his attention to the monitor in his own breaſt for information; as he did not know of any in all the world to teach him, or that the Lord had any people then on earth, owned by his preſence with them, as his flock and family.

After a ſeaſon of deep humiliation under the ſenſe of his being ſhort of that purity, which was diſcovered to his mind as an object to aſpire after, being ſtrengthened to reſign his ſoul to the divine will; in this ſtate of reſignation, the ſun of righteouſneſs aroſe in him with healing and reſtoring virtue, whereby his old ſelf, and the whole carnal mind, with all that dwelt therein, ſelf-love, pride, evil thoughts and evil deſires, with the whole corruption of the firſt ſtate

and

and natural life, were wounded and ſlain, his mind became ſerene and free from anxiety, in a ſtate like that of a little child. CHAP. VII. 1691.

Theſe ſecret operations were confined to his own breaſt, ſo that no man knew any thing of them; only an alteration was perceived in him, but the cauſe unſeen. He put off his uſual airs, his jovial conduct and addreſs; laid aſide his ſword; burnt his inſtruments of muſic; diveſted himſelf of the ſuperfluous part of his apparel, confining himſelf to that which was decent, plain and uſeful. He declined the public worſhip; but not with a deſign to join himſelf to any other ſect. For he was apt to conclude, from what he had obſerved, that theſe inward manifeſtations were peculiar to himſelf, and that there was not any people, with whom he might properly aſſociate. He declines the public worſhip.

Continuing in ſilence and ſolitude he advanced in religious experience, and with this experience his inward peace and conſolation encreaſed. In this ſtate of his mind he was led into a conſideration of the ſtates of many perſons in the national way of worſhip, as alſo among the diſſenters of divers denominations; for although he received his education in the way of the church of England, he had no averſion to any claſs profeſſing the chriſtian name; but occaſionally heard ſeveral ſorts, but did not fully approve any ſect in all things, as he came to conſider them cloſely; yet obſerving many, who ſeemed men of ſincerity, and to have good intentions in their reſpective modes of worſhip, he began to queſtion whether it might not be through his own fault, for want of the true knowledge of God heretofore, that he did not

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enjoy his preſence among them, as he had done in his retirement; and therefore determined to go again and ſee, and accordingly he went to the public worſhip at the place called St. Cuthbert's in Carliſle, and although he retired in his mind, to feel after the divine preſence, as he was wont to do in his ſolitary waiting, he found himſelf veiled in darkneſs, and encompaſſed in trouble, to that degree, that it was only in regard to decency he could prevail upon himſelf to tarry till their worſhip was ended, which being over he returned to his chamber in trouble, and went not among them any more. But though he declined all outward worſhip, determining to follow the Lord, whereſoever he might ſee good to lead him; yet he found his mind clothed with univerſal charity and benevolence, to all mankind of every denomination.

In his ſolitude at a certain time the people called Quakers were ſuddenly, and with ſome ſurprize, brought to his mind, with an impreſſion ſufficiently deep, to induce a ſecret inclination to enquire after them, their principles and manner of worſhip.

He goes to a meeting of the Quakers at Broughton.

An opportunity preſented in the 5th month 1691, when meeting with a member of that ſociety, and enquiring of him concerning ſome points of their religion, he perceived no material difference between their ſentiments and his own, and being invited by the friend to accompany him next day (being the firſt day of the week) to their meeting at Broughton, he readily complied.

The meeting at their arrival being fully gathered, he ſat down among the throng of the people in inward retirement. And though one of

of their miniſters began to ſpeak, yet his attention was more turned to what paſſed in his own mind, with a deſire to gain an intelligence, whether the Lord owned them with his preſence in their religious aſſemblies, than to the doctrine at that time delivered, and he ſoon received a convincing evidence of what he deſired to know.

in which he is favoured with conſolation,

For not long after he ſat down amongſt them, the like divine power, which he had of late been favoured with in his private retirements, overſhadowed his mind with abundant conſolation; and whereas from general obſervation, he had perceived the prevailing formality in religious profeſſion amongſt the various ſects and denominations, contenting themſelves in that religion, which was merely the effect of education or tradition, he was ready to apprehend himſelf, like the prophet, alone, in this inward experience of the refining work of the waſhing of regeneration, and the mental conſolation in conſequence thereof, he now perceived that herein he was miſtaken; for he was convinced, beyond a doubt, that the ſame divine preſence and holy influence attended the greateſt part of the meeting, and that under the ſhadow of the wing of divine power they ſat with great delight: Under this edifying ſenſation they felt themſelves mutually comforted and united, and made one another's joy in the Lord. For the friends there being generally ſenſible, he was affected and tendered with them by the influence of the truth, they made profeſſion of and concluded he had at that time, and not before, been convinced thereof, their joy was as at the return of a penitent. And his joy was in the view of reformation ſo far advanced in the earth; when not long

which he perceives was the caſe with the greater part of the meeting.

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long before he had thought, there had been ſcarce any true and living faith or knowledge of God in the world.

1691. He continues to attend their meetings.

From this time, he continued to attend their meetings, as he had opportunity, and as he became more intimately acquainted with them, he felt the bands of near unity with them daily ſtrengthened, and was not aſhamed on the following occaſion openly to acknowledge himſelf a member of their ſociety, although ſo generally deſpiſed by the world.

At the time of the aſſizes at Carliſle, an acquaintance of his applied to him, in regard to a ſuit he had to come on the next day for the greateſt part of his property; and Thomas being the only witneſs to the deeds of conveyance he could at preſent procure, he deſired him not to fail giving his attendance at the court early the next morning. Thomas, in anſwer to his requeſt, ſaid, "I am concerned it ſhould fall out ſo (for he had a friendly regard for the man, and ſaw his caſe was very hard) "but I will appear, if "it pleaſe God, and teſtify what I know in the "matter, and do what I can for you in that "way; but I cannot ſwear." This anſwer got the better of the man's patience, ſo far as to make him in a paſſion reply with an oath, "What! you are not a Quaker ſure!" As he had neither hitherto received from others, nor aſſumed himſelf this appellation, nor as yet ſaw whether he had ſo much unity with all their tenets, as might juſtify him in adopting the name, he continued ſilent and attentive to the truth in his own mind, till clear in his underſtanding what anſwer to make, and then he ſaid, "I muſt confeſs the truth, I am a Quaker."

Owns himſelf a Quaker.

This

This plain confeſſion encreaſed his peace, and his acquaintance's perplexity and vexation, whoſe caſe appeared to him hereby rendered deſperate; ſo that in the height of his paſſion he threatened to have Thomas fined and proceeded againſt with the utmoſt rigour of the law, exclaiming, "What! muſt I loſe my eſtate for your ground-"leſs notions and whims?" Thomas Story was not free from anxiety in conſequence of this menace, under the probable proſpect of fining and impriſonment, and of little help from his father or friends, but rather of their diſpleaſure at ſuch an unaccountable ſcruple, as it would appear to them. After ſome time of ſilent meditation he felt ſtrength to reſign himſelf to the divine diſpoſal, under the conſciouſneſs of a good intention, and therein found his anxiety vaniſh, and his mind center in ſerenity. And next morning, as he was going up to the court-houſe, in expectation of being called as a witneſs in the caſe aforementioned, he met his acquaintance in a very different diſpoſition from that, in which he had left him the night before, for with a chearful countenance, denoting friendſhip and affection, he ſaid, "I can tell you good "news; my adverſary hath yielded the cauſe, "we are agreed, to my ſatisfaction."

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He continued diligently to attend the meetings of this people, where, in a ſtate of ſilence, his heart was frequently tendered and broken, as well as under a powerful living miniſtry; [d] and ſome years after his joining this ſociety, he received a gift in the miniſtry himſelf; and devoted much of his time to travelling in the exerciſe

He receives a gift in the miniſtry.

[d] T. Story's life, p. 46.

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ercise thereof, for the edification of his brethren, and the convincement of others, in most parts of the British dominions, on both sides of the Atlantic. There were few of his cotemporaries more diligent, or more esteemed for their gospel labours, than he was, not only within the society, but also without, the meetings which he visited, being frequently attended with a numerous concourse of people of other societies.

His conversion gave considerable uneasiness to his relations, particularly his father, chiefly because it crossed his views as to his son's rising to eminence in that line for which he designed him; for Thomas clearly perceived that the practice of the law, and being conversant in frequent suits and contests of the world, would disturb the peace and serenity of his mind, expose him to many temptations, and be the probable means of preventing his advancement in religious experience, and an obstruction to the fulfilling of his duty, he therefore finally resolved to decline the practice of the law, though the only thing designed as the means to procure him a living; accordingly the next persons who came to employ him in business of that kind, he refused, telling them he should not undertake business of that kind any more.

1692. Life and character of Stephen Crisp.

In this year Stephen Crisp of Colchester terminated a life of righteousness and repute, very much, and very successfully employed in propagating the doctrines of truth, as held by the people called Quakers, amongst whom he was distinguished for his labours in the ministry, and for his eminent qualifications for service. He was born at Colchester in Essex in the year 1628, where he received his education, at a time when religion

religion lay much in ſeeking after truth and pu- CHAP.
rity, rather than ſettling in any eſtabliſhed form. VII.
This friend appears to have been one of thoſe, ~~~
who were ſeriouſly engaged in ſeeking a religion, 1692.
wherein he might find reſt to his ſoul; but was ſeeking many years before he could find it. For from an early age he had a religious turn of mind, and therein was favoured with light to diſtinguiſh between good and evil, and with earneſt deſires to obtain power over the evil and corruptions of nature; that he might purſue after that goodneſs, he had a diſcerning of, without obſtruction: In order whereto, he became a very attentive hearer and regarder of thoſe reputed the beſt miniſters, and even at this tender age gave himſelf up to reading, and reſorted to hear ſermons with as much chearfulneſs, as other children reſorted to their play and diverſions; and yet could not meet with what he was ſeeking after; power over his infirmities, nor a foundation to reſt upon with ſecurity. He went from preacher to preacher, and from one ſociety to another, till wearied out with his fruitleſs ſearch he detached himſelf from cloſe connection with every viſible ſociety; but wandered up and down, ſometimes to one ſect of people, ſometimes to another, taking a ſharp inſpection into their lives and doctrines, though he confeſſes, he left his own garden undreſſed, until many noiſome weeds overgrew. He began to take delight in airy and mirthful company, and indulging himſelf in a participation of their pleaſures; but in the midſt of his mirth, the reproofs of the monitor in his own breaſt followed him with ſtrong convictions, and finally put a ſtop to his deviation. He then renewed his enquiries of one

kind

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1692.

kind of profeſſors and another, and how peace and aſſurance might be attained. Amongſt the reſt, falling in with the baptiſts, they told him the only way was to be obedient to the commands and ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt; to imitate the primitive ſaints; to walk in church order and communion, where every one had the ſtrength of many; and all the church are bound to watch over every member. To theſe ſentiments he yielded aſſent, joined them in communion, and ſubmitted to their mode of baptiſm, expecting to attain thereby greater power over ſin than before; but found it not to be the baptiſm which now ſaveth, being only a waſhing away of the filth of the fleſh; which conveyed not the ability he was looking for, to attain the eſſential part, *the anſwer of a good conſcience toward God;* and though he ſtrove much in the ſtrength of his own will and wiſdom, to ſubdue his inclination to levity and jocularity, and by a more ſtayed and ſober conduct to contribute to the reputation of the religion he had choſen, that he might not appear to have run and changed all in vain, yet he ſtill felt that he continued to want what he wanted before, power to gain the victory over his corruptions; he therefore was induced to look for ſomething more ſubſtantial than ſigns and ſhadows, being impreſſed with a belief, that a way would be revealed, ſuperior to all he had been acquainted with, though he knew not what it might be.

He falls in with the baptiſts, is baptized, and joins in their communion.

Becomes more reſerved in his conduct,

but meets not with what he wanted.

This was about the time that the people diſtinguiſhed by the contemptuous denomination of Quakers became the ſubject of much converſation, generally in the line of cenſure and contumely; he could hear no good report of them, only

only they were univerſally the objects of ſcorn and averſion, evil treatment and perſecution, and that they were remarkable for bearing all the injuries, to which they were expoſed with patience. This ſeemed to have a different effect upon him from what it had upon many of thoſe he converſed with; for he was in expectation that when this way, which he looked for as more perfect, than what he had hitherto found, ſhould be diſcovered, it would be hated and perſecuted; whereby he was influenced with a ſtrong deſire, that ſome of the miniſters of that denomination might viſit their parts, as he heard they had done ſundry other parts of the nation; and it was not long 'till James Parnel came to Colcheſter, in the year 1655, by whoſe miniſtry and converſation Stephen Criſp was effectually convinced, as hath been already related in its place *. After his convincement he had many conflicts to endure, before he attained the deſire of his ſoul; he found he muſt put off the old man with his deeds, his words, his imaginations and his wiſdom; take up the croſs of Chriſt, and bear it upon him; which as he willingly ſubmitted to, he found it be to him, that which he had been ſeeking from his childhood, even the power of God, whereby he was crucified to the world, and the world unto him. By theſe means attaining experience in the redeeming work of true religion, he became in due time qualified for ſervice in the church, firſt in the diſcipline, in the care and overſight of the poor, which care he diſcharged with fidelity, both in adminiſtring advice and relief, as exigency

He is convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers by the miniſtry of James Parnel.

* See Vol. I. page 182.

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1692. He becomes a miniſter among them,

and travels into Scotland.

gency required; and afterwards in the work of the miniſtry, in the exerciſe whereof he was zealous and diligent, travelling much abroad for the edifying of his friends, and encreaſing their number, being made inſtrumental to convince many others in various places and nations. His firſt proſpect as to going abroad to exerciſe his gift was to Scotland, but many difficulties preſented themſelves in his way; his own inability, the care of his family, his ſervice in his own meeting, were pleas which he would willingly have advanced to have gotten himſelf excuſed from this ſervice, but found he could not keep that peace of mind, which he had through faithfulneſs meaſurably obtained, and which was now of more value with him than all the comforts and conveniencies of life, without being faithful to manifeſted duty in this proſpect; wherefore, after viſiting his friends in ſome neighbouring meetings in Eſſex and Suffolk, he gave up all in obedience to the divine requirings, and arrived in Scotland in the ninth month, 1659, where travelling through various parts of that nation that winter on foot, his labour was not in vain in the Lord, ſeveral being convinced thereby. About mid-winter he returned to England by the weſtern road, through Weſtmoreland and Lancaſhire, &c. as he had made his way from home through Lincolnſhire and Yorkſhire, and arrived ſafe at his own habitation in much thankfulneſs to that divine power, whoſe preſence had attended him, and whoſe providential arm had preſerved and reſtored him in peace and ſafety to his beloved wife and children, after an abſence of five or ſix months.

He

He divided his future time between his outward occupation and the requiſite care of his family, and the filling up his ſervice in the cauſe of religion, as he felt the impulſe of duty. His ſucceeding travels for propagating goſpel truths were frequent through the greateſt part of his life. He viſited the northern and weſtern counties, and other parts of England, ſeveral times over; but the care of the churches which had been gathered principally by the miniſtry of William Caton and William Ames in Holland and Germany (now theſe labourers who had lived amongſt them for ſome time, were removed by death) fell moſt weightily upon him. He croſſed the German ocean no leſs than thirteen times, on religious viſits to theſe countries, which the friends of theſe parts eſteemed a favour of divine providence, that juſt about the juncture of time in which they were deprived of the ſervices of the aforeſaid miniſters, Stephen Criſp, under the impulſe of love and duty, ſhould be drawn to viſit them, to exerciſe his religious care over and his miniſtry amongſt them. In the diſcharge hereof his diligence and his attention to all their concerns were remarkably conſpicuous, not only in his public miniſtry, but in his viſits to private families and particular perſons he was very zealouſly engaged to impart counſel and inſtruction, as occaſion required. And not only in word and doctrine were his labours exerted, but he frequently employed his pen for the ſpreading of the principles of truth, in the defence thereof againſt oppoſers, and for the refuting of the miſrepreſentations and calumnies raiſed againſt it. His doctrine at firſt was expounded by an interpreter,

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1692.

He viſits ſeveral parts of England,

but Holland becomes the principal field of his goſpel labours abroad.

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ter, but afterwards he attained a knowledge of the Low Dutch language, whereby he was qualified to preach to them in their own tongue. In fine, amongſt them he exerciſed the office of a biſhop without the title, according to the apoſtle's inſtruction to Timothy, 2 Epiſt. iv. 2. "Preach the word, be inſtant in ſeaſon; out "of ſeaſon; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all "long ſuffering and doctrine."

And as he was ſo eminent for his uſefulneſs in this ſociety, it is not to be expected he could eſcape the perſecution, to which all his friends were expoſed in the age wherein he lived. After his return from Scotland he ſtaid but a ſhort time at home 'till his apprehenſion of duty drew him to viſit the city of London, and from thence to proceed to the north of England, where his labours were conducive to the converting of ſeveral people from darkneſs to light; and while he was proſperouſly engaged in his ſervice the fifth-monarchy-men made their inſurrection, in conſequence whereof a general impriſonment of the members of this ſociety enſued. Stephen Criſp at this time was travelling in the county of Durham, and being at a meeting at Simon Townſend's in Norton, was taken thence by Captain Bellaſiſe with a party of ſoldiers, with ſix other friends, and caſt into priſon (nigh two hundred miles from home) as were many others, to the number of an hundred; ſome taken from their work in the fields, others from inns on their travels. Here he was detained in priſon 'till releaſed by the king's proclamation the next year, 1661. In the ſame year

His impriſonments.

[a] Beſſe.

year he was apprehended at a meeting at Harwich, and by a juſtice of peace there, who had ordered his mittimus to be written before his examination, committed to priſon. In the year 1663 a grievous perſecution of this people broke out at Colcheſter [b], where William Moore, mayor, exerted the utmoſt of his authority to oppreſs them, and on the 25th of October forcibly broke up the meeting, and committed Stephen Criſp and John Pike to priſon; but how long he was detained in theſe two laſt impriſonments I have no account. In the beginning of the year 1670 he was again impriſoned at Ipſwich in Suffolk, at the inſtigation of a prieſt, who had contrived to get him impriſoned about two years before; he was now committed on the act of the 14th of Charles II. which enacts for the firſt offence a fine not exceeding 5l. or elſe impriſonment, not exceeding three months. Upon his trial at the aſſizes, the judge, R. Rainſford, ſuffered his paſſion to get the better of his recollection ſo far as to condemn him in the penalty of 5l. and impriſonment 'till he ſhould pay the ſame; but afterwards recognizing his error, he ſent an order for his releaſe at the expiration of three months. In the latter part of the ſame year a new act againſt conventicles coming in force, Stephen Criſp was again taken by ſoldiers from the meeting at Horſlydown, Southwark, and fined 20l. for preaching there.

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In the latter years of his life, being much afflicted by the ſtone, he was diſabled from travelling as heretofore; but ſtill devoted to the ſervice of truth, and the cauſe thereof, and promoting

Is much afflicted with the ſtone.

[b] See Vol. II. p. 22.

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1692. His character.

moting the prosperity of friends therein, he divided his time pretty much between his native place and the city of London, as the place where he could be most extensively serviceable. He was very diligent and exemplary in attending meetings, in preaching the gospel, in provoking to love and good works, in joining friends in the city in their solicitations to government; circumspect in conversation, and in every practice and every virtue, whereby he might promote the peace and prosperity of his brethren, and edify them in love to God and one unto another. In the exercise of his ministry he was ready and clear in expression, agreeable in his manner of delivery, and preaching the heartfelt truths of his own experience, he reached and affected the hearts of his auditory with convincing evidence of the weight and truth of his doctrine. The meetings which he attended were frequently crouded by a resort of people of other professions, both at home and in his foreign travels, being esteemed by others, as well as friends, an eminent minister of the gospel.

He was also a very useful member, and well qualified for service in the discipline of the society, being a man of a good natural understanding, of acute discernment and penetration, whereby he was enabled to give sound judgment in matters under deliberation in meetings of discipline. He was not only charitably engaged in a religious care over the members of the society for their preservation from evil and encouragement in well-doing, but actively assistant to his friends and others, especially widows and orphans, by advice and otherwise, in the management

nagement of their outward affairs, for which he had a capacity beyond many.

Having thus ſpent a life here of devotion to the ſervice of God and man, he was well prepared for his tranſlation to a better. His diſorder gathering ſtrength, he ſuffered great bodily pain, which he bore with exemplary patience to the laſt. George Whitehead viſiting him about four days before his deceaſe, he ſaid, *I ſee an end of mortality, but cannot come at it. I deſire the Lord to deliver me out of this troubleſome and painful body: yet there is no cloud in my way; I have full aſſurance of my peace with God in Chriſt Jeſus, my integrity and uprightneſs of heart is known to the Lord, and I have peace and juſtification in Chriſt Jeſus, who made me ſo* [upright in the ſight of God.] To another he ſaid, *I have fought the good fight of faith, and have run my courſe, and am waiting for the crown of life that is laid up for me.* And to another, *Serve the truth for the ſimple truth's ſake, and it will preſerve thee as it hath done me.* He deſired his dear love in Chriſt Jeſus to be remembered to all his friends, and on the 28th day of the 9th month, 1692, he departed this life at Wandſworth in Surry near London, in the 64th year of his age. His body was removed to the meeting-houſe in Grace-Church-ſtreet, London, and from thence accompanied by many friends and others to friends' burying ground at Bunhill fields. Several lively teſtimonies were borne to the power of that truth, whereby he had been made honourable through life, and rendered happy at his cloſe.

1692. His laſt illneſs, and expreſſions therein.

CHAP. VII.

1695. This society apply to parliament for an act, to accept their solemn affirmation instead of an oath.

The people called Quakers, who were still subject to many great injuries and inconveniencies by reason of their conscientious scruple to take an oath, were encouraged by the apparently more liberal and moderate temper of the times, in consequence of the late revolution, to apply by petition to the parliament for relief in this case, praying that a bill might be enacted, by which their solemn affirmation or negation might be admitted instead of a formal oath. The petition was read and referred to a committee, who reported, *Upon the whole, it is the opinion of this committee, that the Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their petition.*

But inveterate prejudices were yet too strong, and the accustomed propensity to persecution, too prevalent with many of the members of the parliament, to yield them the desired relief. The opponents of the bill found means to retard its progress, and to prevent it from passing this session. Friends renewed their application the succeeding year, and having drawn up a state of their case in respect to oaths, signed in their behalf by Theodore Eccleston, they presented it to the members of parliament, being as followeth:

"A brief

" A brief repreſentation of the QUAKERS caſe of not ſwearing; and why they might have been, and yet may be relieved therein, by parliament. CHAP. VII. 1694.

" 'Tis a certain truth, that among Chriſtians, and Proteſtants eſpecially, there are divers particular things about religion, conſcientiouſly ſcrupled by ſome as unlawful, that others eſteem orthodox: and therefore it is not to be wondered, that the Quakers differ from many others (though not from all) in this caſe of oaths; they believing they are abſolutely forbid to ſwear in any caſe, by that poſitive command of Chriſt, *Matth.* v. 34. and the earneſt exhortation of his apoſtle, *James* v. 12. And that this is undeniably their Chriſtian perſuaſion, is evidenced by their ſufferings theſe many years for not ſwearing.

Thereupon T. Eccleſtone, in their behalf, gives the members of parliament a repreſentation of their caſe.

" And therefore their caſe may be worth the charitable notice of the government, by law to relieve them therein; and not for their religious perſuaſion, to continue them and their families expoſed to ruin, who among their neighbours chearfully pay to the ſupport of the government, and by their trades and induſtry (according to their capacities) advance the national ſtock.

" It may therefore be humbly offered, that it is not the intereſt of the government to refuſe them relief.

" Their induſtry in trade, both at ſea and land, bringing profit to the government, as well as others; the ſtation they ſtand in, as merchants, farmers, manufactors, improvers

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" of lands and ſtocks, is advantageous to their " neighbours as truly as others. And as it ſeems " not the intereſt of the government in general, " that they ſhould be any ways diſcouraged in " honeſt induſtry, ſo neither is it the intereſt " of an eminent part of the government, that " they ſhould not be relieved, viz. the judges.

" For the frequent ſuits that are brought " againſt the Quakers, before the Chancery and " Exchequer judges, are no doubt very trou- " bleſome and burthenſome, by the difficulty of " getting at a juſt iſſue, for want of ſwearing; " whereby juſtice is delayed, and their cauſes " often held very long; and no doubt when " juſt judges ſee the Quakers wronged and " abuſed, and cannot relieve them, it is itkſome " to them: ſo that it is humbly conceived, it " would be a great eaſe to thoſe courts, to have " the Quakers relieved in this caſe of oaths.

" Neither is it without advantage to the " king's other courts, to be able to uſe the " evidence of one who is now a Quaker, that " perhaps was not ſo ſome years ago; when " he was a witneſs to a bill, bond, book-debt, " or deed of indenture; or when he was " ſteward or truſtee, or ſervant, either to per- " ſons of quality, or to others of trade, or " eſtate.

" Nor may their teſtimony be unuſeful to " coroners, in caſe of unnatural deaths; nor " inconvenient in caſes of treſpaſs or felony, " &c.

" And it is farther propoſed, that it is not the " intereſt of the ſubject to continue them un- " relieved: for it is not the intereſt of thoſe " the Quakers are indebted to; becauſe, though

" ſuch

" ſuch may ſue and harraſs the Quakers in perſon and eſtate, yet they may long want a " deciſion of their debt or claim, as to the right " of it, for want of an anſwer upon oath.

" It is not the intereſt of thoſe they are concerned with, in any doubtful caſe, becauſe of " the difficulty to come to trial.

" And for thoſe that owe money to the " Quakers, to be allowed to fly into Chancery " for a refuge, to obſtruct paying juſt debts, is " ſuch an injury, as it is hoped no one that " is rational will countenance, or deſire ſhould " be continued upon them. And may it not " then be aſſerted, that it is no honeſt man's " true and juſt intereſt, (to have the Quakers " denied relief) no not the gown-men of Weſtminſter-hall, whoſe few fees from the Quakers, " as plaintiffs, might ſuggeſt (though unduly) " that they have no long-tailed debts to ſue for, " nor titles to recover; but if they ſo ſuppoſe, " it is a miſtake, for it is rather their deſpair " of relief, and their well-known inability to " purſue a cauſe, that is their common determent to begin.

" So that of all cauſes that croud thoſe courts, " few are brought by the Quakers, though they " may need it as much as others, to the great " loſs of the learned in the law, as well as the " poor injured Quaker.

" And one might think, it were great pity an " induſtrious people ſhould be kept liable to all " injurious ſuits, and ſo much barred from ſuing " for their rights, be their cauſe never ſo reaſonable, juſt, or neceſſary.

" Seeing their relief is to them ſo needful, " ſo harmleſs to all, and ſo uſeful to the govern-

" ment,

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" ment, and their neighbours; let us a little " conſider the common objections, which may " be ſummed up in ſhort thus:

" Firſt objection, *How ſhall we then be at a* " *certainty?*

" Secondly, *Why ſhould the laws be altered for* " *them? For,*

" Thirdly, *It would be to raſe old founda-* " *tions:*

" Fourthly, *And let them into the govern-* " *ment.*

" Which it is hoped will not be difficult to " anſwer one by one, and that to reaſonable ſa- " tisfaction.

" And to the firſt, viz. *The doubt of certainty.* " It may be rationally affirmed, that whoſoever " is bound to tell the truth, (eſpecially againſt " men's own intereſt, where the temptation, if " any, mainly lies) ſuch are either ſo bound by " the law of God, or the laws of men, or " both.

" Now the obligations by the law of God " are binding on good men, whether they give " anſwers on oath, or on their ſolemn affirma- " tion in the fear of God; and knaves are only " bound by the penal laws of men; which if " made equally ſevere, to thoſe that give falla- " cious anſwers, as well without oath as by oath, " would be equally effectual and binding, both " to them that give anſwers without ſwearing, " and to them that ſwear.

" The

" The ſecond objection, *that it would be an* CHAP.
" *alteration of the law;* not of the ſubſtance of VII.
" the law, but of a circumſtance; and if that
" hath no detriment in it, but that the altera- 1694.
" tion be really an amendment, and a conve-
" niency to an honeſt, induſtrious people, pray
" why ſhould it not be done? what ſeſſions of
" parliament is there, that paſſes, but ſome law
" or other is made for the eaſe, ſecurity, or
" relief of the ſubject?

" If foreigners are too hard for our ſea-faring
" people, out goes an act of navigation to pre-
" vent it.

" If our poor at home want ſilk to work with,
" how ſoon is it granted, (notwithſtanding the
" ſame act) to come over land, and not directly
" in ſhipping from the places of its produce, as
" the ſaid act before did enjoin: and ſhall the
" eaſe of trade be ſo ſoon granted againſt a
" poſitive ſtatute; and the eaſe of conſcience be
" ſo long denied in this, as poſitive a command
" of Chriſt, at leaſt really ſo believed and ac-
" cepted?

" And for the third objection, *that it is to*
" *raſe old foundations.* Anſwer, *No*, as it was
" ſaid, it is rather to mend them; a proper
" work for parliaments.

" Did not parliaments abrogate Popery, with
" all its claim of antiquity? did not a parlia-
" ment make the act of *Habeas Corpus* againſt
" the claim of prerogative? and was it more
" reaſonable to ſecure the ſubject from perpe-
" tual impriſonment by a king without trial,
" than it is to ſecure one ſubject from impri-
" ſoning another 'till death, for not giving an
" anſwer in Chancery or Exchequer upon oath?

" does

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" does it belong to parliaments to ſecure other " ſubjects in their eſtates, liberties, and proper- " ties? and is it unparliamentary to ſecure the " Quakers from ſequeſtrations againſt their whole " eſtates? becauſe they dare not comply to a " circumſtance of the law; when (as they un- " derſtand it) it is againſt an expreſs command " of Chriſt? ſurely no: and therefore their re- " lief in parliament is a fitting caſe to be there " tenderly taken notice of, and provided for.

" May it not then be well worth the while " for this preſent parliament to relieve theſe " diſtreſſed people, and afford their ſuffering " caſe redreſs? that thereby their cauſes may " the ſooner come to an iſſue; whether they ſue " for juſt debts, or are ſued; whereby many " unjuſt and vexatious ſuits, by injurious and " litigious perſons, may be prevented, which " have often tended rather to the Quakers' ruin, " and others damage, than recovery of their " right.

" As to the fourth objection, *That it will tend* " *to let them into the government:* For anſwer " thereto, bar that as hard as you pleaſe; only " do not let the ſuppoſal of that, from which " ſo eaſily and ſo willingly they may be ex- " cluded, be a hindrance to that eaſe and be- " nefit the government may ſo eaſily afford " them.

" But now while you have opportunity by " the ſtation Providence hath placed you in, " pray be you of ſuch noble, generous ſpirits, " as to relieve them, though they differ from " you in the conſtruction of a text they eſteem " plain and poſitive on their ſide, and from " which they dare not ſwerve, having therein

" the

" the concurrence of many ancient fathers, and martyrs, and ſince them the Meniſts, and of late Francis Oſbourne, Eſq; in his Political Reflections, 7th edition, p. 319, who treating of judicial caſes, calls *not ſwearing*, a yielding a ſincere and faithful obedience to the precept of our Saviour, *ſwear not at all*, which (ſays he) the corrupt gloſſes of expoſitors labour much, though all in vain, to elude.

Chryſoſtom, &c. Swinderby's appeal to the king. Walter Brute's declaration. Acts and monuments, vol. I. 570, new edition. Young's firſt exam. fol. 910, old edition, with abundance others.

" And Swinderby in his appeal to the king, complaining of the errors of the Papiſts, ſays thus, *As Chriſt forbids ſwearing, ſo* (ſays he) *the Pope juſtifieth ſwearing, and compels men to ſwear.*

" Which no man can rationally ſay, is only ſpoken of ſwearing in communication, for his complaint is againſt juſtifying ſwearing, and compelling men to ſwear, which cannot be pretended to mean other than ſolemn ſwearing; for no age, that we read of, did ever authorize profane ſwearing, much leſs compel to it.

" Since therefore not only profane ſwearing, but alſo ſolemn ſwearing, was early complained of by Proteſtants, let it not ſeem ſtrange to any, that the Quakers now ſcruple ſwearing, and for eaſe therein have often ſought relief in parliament, the proper place.

" Seeing then they believe, they have the authority of Chriſt's command, and the apoſtle's exhortation, and the martyrs doctrine on their ſide; though divers of you are not ſo perſuaded.

" Yet let the world behold your juſtice and willingneſs (according to your power) to do

" good

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" good to all the honeſt and induſtrious people, " you both repreſent and govern: by enacting, " *That their ſolemn affirmation ſhall be accepted in* " *lieu of an oath; and all, that falſify therein,* " *ſhall be puniſhed equally with perjured perſons.*

" It having been made appear to a committee " of this parliament, [Dec. 2, 1692] that they " are expoſed to great hardſhips, as aforeſaid, " and not themſelves only, but others alſo; " (which was the caſe of a member or two of " this preſent parliament.)

" So that upon the whole matter, the ſaid " committee were of opinion, and did report it " to the houſe, THAT THE QUAKERS OUGHT " TO BE RELIEVED ACCORDING TO THE PRAYER " OF THEIR PETITION, (then newly preſented " to the houſe.)

" Wherefore, as liberty hath been given them " to declare their allegiance to the government " without ſwearing, for which eaſe they are " ſincerely thankful; ſo be pleaſed to add to " that kindneſs their relief in the matter of " oaths, between them and other ſubjects, as " well as between the government and them.

" Signed in behalf of the ſaid people,

" THEODORE ECCLESTONE.

" London, Dec. 22, 1694."

After the peruſal of this caſe, ſeveral of the members of parliament diſcovered a more friendly regard to the people and their petition; yet the houſe came to no reſolution in favour of their requeſt. In the following year, 1695, they

they renewed their application with better ſucceſs. CHAP. VII.

This year Queen Mary was taken off by the ſmall pox; ſhe was a woman not more eminent for her elevated rank in life, than for her perſonal embelliſhments, intellectual endowments and virtuous diſpoſitions. In her ſickneſs undaunted, ſhe awaited her change with a perfect reſignation to the Divine Will, and continued in that Chriſtian reſigned temper to the laſt. As ſhe had merited the general reſpect, her death was generally lamented by all ranks of the people, but moſt of all by the King, who was moſt intimately acquainted with her worth, and ſo ſenſibly affected with his loſs, that he could neither ſee company, nor attend to the affairs of ſtate for ſome weeks after. 1694. Death of Queen Mary.

Upon the death of Queen Mary, the zealous partiſans of the late King James, on the ſuppoſition that the intereſt of William was conſiderably weakened by her removal, renewed their efforts for his reſtoration, both by an application to the French King, to enable James to make a deſcent upon England, and alſo by a plot at home to aſſaſſinate King William, which deſigns, being timely diſcovered, were defeated.

Firſt, the two houſes of parliament entered into an aſſociation to defend King William's life and government; and in caſe he ſhould come to a violent death, to revenge it upon his adverſaries and their adherents. And as this aſſociation was ſubſcribed by people of all ranks, the people called Quakers, whoſe conſcientious principle againſt taking up arms prevented their ſubſcribing, thought it expedient to manifeſt their loyalty and fidelity to the King, by drawing

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ing up and publiſhing the following declaration:

"The ancient teſtimony and principle of the "people called Quakers, renewed with reſpect "to the King and government, and touching "the preſent aſſociation."

"We the ſaid people do ſolemnly and ſincerely declare, that it hath been our judgment and principle from the firſt day we were called to profeſs the light of Chriſt Jeſus, manifeſted in our conſciences unto this day, that the ſetting up and putting down kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, for cauſes beſt known to himſelf; and that it is not our work or buſineſs to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be buſybodies in matters above our ſtation, much leſs to plot or contrive the ruin or overturn of any of them; but to pray for the king, and for the ſafety of our nation, and good of all men, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godlineſs and honeſty, under the government which God is pleaſed to ſet over us.

"And according to this our ancient and innocent principle, we often have given forth our teſtimony, and now do, againſt all plotting, conſpiracies and contriving inſurrections againſt the king or the government, and againſt all treacherous, barbarous and murtherous deſigns whatſoever, as works of the Devil and darkneſs; and we ſincerely bleſs God, and are heartily thankful to the king and government for the liberty and privileges

"we

1696.

" we enjoy under them by law, eſteeming it
" our duty to be true and faithful to them.

" And whereas we the ſaid people are re-
" quired to ſign the ſaid aſſociation, we ſincerely
" declare, that our refuſing ſo to do, is not
" out of any diſſatisfaction to the king nor go-
" vernment, nor in oppoſition to his being
" declared rightful and lawful king of theſe
" realms, but purely becauſe we cannot for
" conſcience ſake fight, kill or revenge, either
" for ourſelves or any man elſe.

" And we believe that the timely diſcovery
" and prevention of the late barbarous deſign
" and miſchievous plot againſt the king and
" government, and the ſad effects it might have
" had, is an eminent mercy from Almighty
" God, for which we and the whole nation
" have great cauſe to be humbly thankful to
" him, and to pray for the continuance of his
" mercies to them and us.

" From a meeting of the ſaid people in
" London the 23d of the firſt month
" called March, 1695-6."

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CHAP. VIII.

The Caſe of George Keith brought before the Yearly Meeting.—The Judgment and Advice of the Yearly Meeting thereupon.—George Keith's Endeavours to make a Party in England fruſtrated.—Thomas Elwood writes an Epiſtle of Caution to Friends, againſt which George Keith complains.—The Yearly Meeting of London diſowns him.—He ſets up a ſeparate Meeting at Turner's-hall.—Summons Friends to a Meeting there—Which they think improper to comply with.—Their Reaſons.—He publiſheth his Account of the Meeting—Which is anſwered by Thomas Elwood.—An anonymous Publication, entitled "The Snake in the Graſs."—Anſwered by George Whitehead and Joſeph Wyeth.

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1694.

GEORGE KEITH having arrived in England in the ſpring of 1694, attended the enſuing yearly meeting of London; and a full account of the trouble he had given friends in America being ſent over in an epiſtle from the yearly meeting of Philadelphia, ſpecifying very particularly all his contentious proceedings there, the grounds of their diſowning him, after repeated labours to bring him to a better way of thinking and acting proved ineffectual, and his and his partiſans' ſetting up a ſeparate meeting, whereby this difference coming regularly before the meeting, the epiſtle being in courſe read therein, George Keith deſired to be heard, and it

The caſe of Geo. Keith brought before the yearly meeting.

it was agreed to enter upon hearing and enquiring into the cauſe of difference between him and friends of Penſylvania, after the other buſineſs of the meeting was over. Then they patiently ſpent near ten days in reading books and papers relating thereto, and hearing George Keith and his party on one ſide, and Samuel Jennings and Thomas Ducket on the other, with Thomas Wilſon and James Dickenſon, juſt returned from their travels in America. They uſed earneſt endeavours to reconcile the difference, and prevail upon George Keith with his party to return into unity and amity with their friends; but Keith ſeeming predetermined either for carrying every thing his own way, or for a ſeparation, eluded all endeavours for reconciliation and peace. The more tender reaſoning and earneſt entreaty was extended towards him, the more perverſeneſs he diſcovered in turning it to a wrong end, and ſtrengthening himſelf in contention and oppoſition. CHAP. VIII. 1694.

The yearly meeting having fully heard and conſidered the circumſtances of the difference, at laſt came to this judgment, *That the ſeparation lay at George Keith's door, and that he had done ill in printing and publiſhing thoſe differences as he had done;* and therefore the advice of the meeting to him thereupon was, *to call in thoſe books of his, or publiſh ſomething innocently and effectually to clear the body of the people called Quakers, and their miniſters, from thoſe groſs errors charged on ſome few in America, and retract the bitter language in them, ſo far as he was concerned, and ſincerely to uſe his utmoſt endeavours with* The judgment and advice of the yearly meeting thereupon.

* J. Whiting.

CHAP. VIII. 1694.

with his friends to remove the ſeparation. Which judgment and advice being drawn up in writing, was in the meeting delivered to him, and ſoon after printed by one of his party, with very invidious reflections upon it, in a ſmall pamphlet, entitled *A true Account, &c.* Thus, inſtead of taking the advice of the yearly meeting, he perſiſted in his oppoſition, and his endeavours to cauſe a rent in the ſociety, and form a party to himſelf; but his behaviour was ſo exceeding rude and paſſionate, that the weakeſt could not but diſcern, he was actuated by an intemperate ſpirit, which fruſtrated his views of forming a party in oppoſition to the body of friends here, as he had done in America; for he could gain few adherents, except ſome of the former ſeparatiſts about London, who yet ſoon grew diſſatisfied with him, and left him.

George Keith's endeavours to make a party in England fruſtrated.

In Penſylvania having (as we have ſeen) ſecured the principal printing-preſs under his own direction and controul, he could publiſh his calumnies, and juſtify his own cauſe without fear of reply or reproof; but in England the caſe was altered; for here were ſundry members of the community, who wanted neither the capacity nor opportunity of following him from the preſs, clearly to anſwer all his cavils, and confute his calumnies. George Whitehead, Thomas Elwood and Benjamin Coole exerciſed their pens for theſe purpoſes.

Thomas Elwood writes an epiſtle of caution to friends.

Thomas Elwood in particular, obſerving the pernicious tendency of his procedure, in the firſt place wrote an excellent epiſtle to friends, briefly commemorating the mercies of the Almighty, and warning them *to beware of that ſpirit of contention and diviſion which had appeared of*

of late in George Keith. Which epiſtle when finiſhed he ſubmitted to the ſecond day's morning meeting, by which it was fully approved in a full meeting, and he left at liberty to publiſh it. And yet George Keith pretended it was printed in great diſunity, and againſt the mind of many friends, inſinuating that it was promoted only by a party; an evidence of his diſpoſition to divide the ſociety into parties, and to heſitate at nothing that might forward his views. CHAP. VIII. 1694.

Againſt this piece of Thomas Ellwood's, George Keith made a heavy complaint to friends, and wanted it to be called in, as highly injurious to him. That it might be injurious to his cauſe admits of no doubt; but himſelf, by his late conduct, had made his cauſe diſtinct from, and oppoſite to the cauſe of the ſociety, and could have no reaſonable grounds to expect they ſhould ſo far counteract their own, which appeared to them a good one, to ſtrengthen his, which they ſaw in a very different light. Therefore his complaint and clamour were diſregarded by friends, who ſaw no reaſon to ſtifle a piece coinciding with their own ſentiments, and which on that account they had approved; to gratify the unreaſonable demand of a man, who was at the ſame time contemning their advice to him. He would call in none of his petulant productions, nor retract his unjuſt repreſentations, at their deſire; but went on printing and publiſhing his own partial accounts of all tranſactions between them, inſinuating that the advice he had received was not the advice of the *yearly meeting*, nor that the yearly meeting which gave it, ſtill aiming to repreſent them di- againſt which Geo. Keith complains.

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vided into parties. The ſucceeding yearly meeting obſerving this, treated further with him upon this diſingenuous repreſentation, renewed their endeavours to make him ſenſible of the wrong he had done them and himſelf, in order to bring him to a temper of mind to perceive and acknowledge it; but the more cordial endeavours they uſed, the more obſtinate and poſitive he grew in his oppoſition, and in his juſtification of his own cauſe. After hearing him patiently 'till he withdrew of his own accord, the yearly meeting at large, to take away all grounds of again repreſenting it as the work of a party, drew up the following teſtimony:

1695. The yearly meeting after treating tenderly with Geo. Keith in vain, teſtify their diſunity with him.

"That the ſaid George Keith hath of late "been, and yet is, actuated by an unchriſtian "ſpirit, which hath moved and led him to ſtir "up contention and ſtrife in the church of "Chriſt, and to cauſe diviſions, ſeparations and "breaches among them that profeſs the truth; "and that the tendency of divers of his late "writings and actings hath been to expoſe the "truth and the friends thereof to the reproach "of the world, did unanimouſly agree, and de-"clare it to be the ſenſe and judgment of this "meeting; and it is the ſenſe and judgment of "this meeting, that the ſaid George Keith is "gone from the bleſſed unity of the peaceable "ſpirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and hath "thereby ſeparated himſelf from the holy fel-"lowſhip of the church of Chriſt; and that "whilſt he is in an unreconciled and uncharita-"ble ſtate, he ought not to preach or pray "in any of friends meetings, nor to be owned "or received as one of us, until by a public "and hearty acknowledgment of the great of-

"fence

" fence he has given, and hurt he hath done,
" and condemnation of himſelf therefore, he
" gives proof of his unfeigned repentance, and
" does his endeavour to remove and take off
" the reproach, he hath brought upon truth and
" friends, which in the love of God we heartily
" deſire for his ſoul's ſake."

Geo. Keith ſets up a ſeparate meeting at Turner's-hall.

He now ſet up a ſeparate meeting at a place called Turner's-hall. The novelty excited the curioſity of the people, and at firſt attracted a crowded audience, moſtly of ſuch as were of unfriendly diſpoſitions to the people called Quakers. At the ſame time he proceeded to write againſt them, but was ſo cloſely anſwered and pinched by quotations from his former writings, being unable to reply to purpoſe, or with any degree of conſiſtency, that under pretence of inability to bear the expence of printing, he ſhifted his ground, and ſet up a kind of judicial court by his own authority, on a day of his own appointing, at Turner's-hall aforeſaid; giving notice by public advertiſement, that he intended in the 4th month to hold a meeting at Turner's-hall, for the purpoſe of pointing out the errors of the Quakers, and ſummoned ſundry of them by name, and others in general, to attend and anſwer for themſelves: But the friends looking upon his aſſumed authority as an impoſition, did not think proper to take notice of his challenge: Yet leſt any, who might attend upon the occaſion might miſtake the cauſe of their not appearing, as proceeding from conſciouſneſs of inability to make a proper defence, they drew up the following reaſons for abſenting themſelves, and ſent them to be read there.

Summons friends to a meeting there,

which they do not think proper to comply with.

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1695. Their reasons for declining the meeting.

"WHEREAS George Keith hath, after his "wonted irregular and unruly manner, chal- "lenged divers of us to defend ourselves against "such charges as he has to exhibit against us "at Turner's-hall: These are to certify to all "whom it may concern, that the reasons why "we decline any such meeting are as follow:

"First. Because the said George Keith has "given us such frequent proofs of his very pas- "sionate and abusive behaviour, at the many "more select meetings we have had with him, "in all manner of sweetness, long-suffering and "patience on our side, to satisfy and preserve "him from these extremes: That we cannot as- "sure ourselves now of any better entertain- "ment, or that the meeting can have any de- "sirable success, for a thorough information.

"Secondly. We decline to meet, because it "is not an agreed meeting on both sides, which "it ought to have been, and where that is not, "or cannot be adjusted, the press is the next "fair way and expedient, which he has begun "with, and now seems to decline; nor hath he "sent us a copy of his charge or indictment "against us, which also he ought to have "done.

"Thirdly. That he has two of our books "which lie hard at his door, in vindication of "us and our doctrines from his exceptions, and "which he has not yet answered; so that he is "not upon equal terms with us; and therefore "we think his challenge, appointment and sum- "mons unfair; and that all that are not partial "will be of the same mind with us.

"Fourthly. Such public and unlimited meet- "ings, are too often attended with heats, levity

"and

" and confuſion, and anſwer not the end deſired CHAP.
" by ſober and enquiring men. Beſides, that it VIII.
" ſets up a practice, that authority may judge to
" be an abuſe of our liberty, and ſo draw that 1695.
" under reflection, as no friend to the civil
" peace.

" Fifthly. We know not what religion or
" perſuaſion this wavering man is of, or what
" church or people he adheres to, or will re-
" ceive him, with his vain ſpeculations, that
" have led him to deſert us; nor who are ac-
" countable to us for him, and his irregularities
" and abuſes; the generality of ſuch aſſemblies
" uſually making ill auditors, worſe judges, and
" no good ſecurity for our ſatisfaction. And
" we muſt therefore take leave to ſay, it ſeems
" to us an indirect way of diſquieting and in-
" vading our preſent liberty, that ſo irreligious
" a meeting ſhould be held, whoſe end is to
" abuſe other men for their religion. If this
" ſhould be imitated by all the ſeveral ſorts of
" different perſuaſions in this city, what heats
" and confuſions muſt neceſſarily enſue!

" Sixthly and laſtly. Wherefore be it known
" unto all, that for the ſake of religion, the
" liberty granted us, and the civil peace, we
" decline to meet him; and not from any ap-
" prehenſions we have of his abilities, or our
" own conſciouſneſs of error, or injuſtice to the
" ſaid George Keith, whoſe weak and unbridled
" temper we know is ſuch, that what learning
" and parts he hath, have not been able to ba-
" lance and ſupport him on leſs occaſions, ſo
" that we may ſay they are in ill hands; and if
" he proceeds as he begins, they will be em-
" ployed to an ill end, which his (poor man!)

" cannot

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" cannot but be, unleſs he change his courſe; " which we heartily pray for, that a place of " repentance he may find; and through a true " contrition, the remiſſion of his great ſin of " envy, and evilly intreating the Lord's people " and way, which we profeſs, and which he the " ſaid George Keith hath long and lately both " profeſſed and zealouſly vindicated as ſuch."

He publiſhes his account of the meeting, which is anſwered by Thomas Ellwood.

George Keith ſoon afterwards publiſhed his narrative of the proceedings at this meeting of his own appointment, with the uſual prejudice of party animoſity, which was anſwered by T. Ellwood in a piece, entitled *An Anſwer to George Keith's Narrative of his Proceedings at Turner's-hall, wherein his Charges againſt divers of the People called Quakers are fairly conſidered, examined and refuted.* In which he made his title good in a clear and entire refutation of his cavils againſt friends' books, manifeſting his diſingenuous perverſions of their ſenſe to anſwer his own partial purpoſes, by unfair or falſe quotations, by partial ſelection of paſſages curtailed and mutilated; and by putting his own conſtructions upon them, to wreſt from them a meaning never thought of by the writer, in order to render them unſound or contemptible; againſt which Thomas Ellwood defended the ſoundneſs of their doctrine, ſhewing George Keith's inconſiſtency and ſelf-contradiction in condemning opinions, which he had publicly vindicated as orthodox on various occaſions for a ſeries of near thirty years; and pretending to hold the ſame doctrines and principles ſtill, and detecting his deceit and prevarication ſo plainly and effectually, that George Keith never replied to it.

He

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He ſeems to have at laſt grown tired of a controverſy, in which, while he made loud clamours of the vile errors held by the Quakers, he found his own unretracted doctrines compared with theirs were the ſame or of the ſame import, and that no palliatives could ſcreen him from the detection of his palpable inconſiſtency, he therefore declined any further appearing in print againſt Thomas Ellwood in his own name: But either by his procuration, or from the ſpontaneous effuſion of a ſimilar diſpoſition in himſelf, he met with a confederate equal in malice, againſt whom the advantage of quoting his own writings would not lie. This author, in an anonymous book, under the title of *The Snake in the Graſs*, proceeded in the line, George Keith had chalked out, but not being under the like reſtraint, outwent him, or moſt that went before him, in virulent reflections, raking every kennel for dirt to throw at the people called Quakers. This piece was publiſhed without a name, but was afterwards found to be the work of one Leſly, an highflying nonjuring parſon, to whom of courſe the name of a diſſenter was odious, and his ſpleen not ſatiated with hating them himſelf, he exerted the talents he was maſter of to render them odious to the world; but this moſt bitter, illiberal and unjuſt production muſt, with all impartial and judicious readers, have fixed a deeper ſtain on the author's reputation, than on the people he vilified.

An anonymous publication, entitled *The ſnake in the graſs*.

As he liſted himſelf a volunteer in George Keith's cauſe, it afforded ground for a ſuſpicion that George Keith was not unconcerned in promoting the work, if not a co-adjutor therein, for being now rejected and diſowned by the people called

CHAP. VIII. 1695. called Quakers, and fruſtrated in his endeavours to draw a party to himſelf from among them here, or attach any conſiderable number of others to himſelf as a leader, he began now to ingratiate himſelf with ſome of the eccleſiaſticks of the church of England, who were inclined to countenance him for his oppoſition to the Quakers (ſo called). The author of the Snake, in his preface plainly implying that it was in George Keith's cauſe he took up his pen, and in reply to Thomas Ellwood's examination of his narrative, by ſaying it was not meant as a defence of George Keith, any further than he defended the truth of the chriſtian faith, for which reaſon, ſays he, *I have wholly omitted all the reflections caſt upon him, and the contradictions which Thomas Elwood pretends to find in his former books (while he was a Quaker in their communion) to the doctrine he now ſets up in oppoſition to them.* Thomas Ellwood, not without probability, conjectured that this book was publiſhed by the procurement of George Keith, who had himſelf for a long ſeries of years maintained for truth thoſe doctrines and practices which he would now repreſent as errors in the Quakers, and was pinched in the controverſy by quotations of Keith againſt Keith; that this anonymous publication was a contrivance to get clear of this dilemma, in which he found himſelf entangled.

As to this envenomed performance it was remarked, "1. That the matters therein "charged upon us, are generally the ſame that "have been charged on us heretofore, by "Faldo, Hicks, and other adverſaries; and "always refuted over and over, both formerly "and of late.

"2. That

" 2. That the things they charge on us, CHAP.
" as errors and hereſy, are not pretended to VIII.
" be proved by any plain expreſs poſitions or
" aſſertions of ours; but from our adverſaries 1695.
" own perverſe meanings, and wreſted con-
" ſtructions of our words, always denied and
" rejected by us.

" 3. That the words and paſſages brought
" by our adverſaries for proof of their charges
" againſt us, are not taken out of our doctri-
" nal treatiſes, or declarations of faith and
" principles; but (for the moſt part) out of
" controverſial books; wherein, ofttimes, the
" ſcope and aim of the author is, not ſo much
" to aſſert or expreſs his own principles or doc-
" trines, as to impugn and expoſe his adver-
" ſaries, by ſhewing the contradictions, abſur-
" dities, and ill conſequences of his adverſaries'
" opinions; from whence, poſitively to con-
" clude the author's own judgment, is neither
" ſafe nor fair.

" 4. That however any of our former ad-
" verſaries might have been miſled in their
" judgments concerning us, George Keith, who
" hath now moved this controverſy againſt us,
" knows full well, that we do not hold thoſe
" things either generally as a people, or as
" particular perſons, which he has charged on
" us as errors."

Beſides this, as George Keith had done before in his quotations and references to their writings, he ſtuck at no unhandſome nor unfair means to repreſent this people in the moſt ridiculous, abſurd and diſadvantageous light. He mutilated their expreſſions by omitting the leading or concluding parts of a ſentence, or paſſing over ſome

in

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in the middle, whereby in moſt caſes they made a ſenſe quite different from the author's intention. To this he added many ſtories of occurrences, which, he ſaid, had happened among the Quakers; ſome of which were plainly proved to be fictitious and without foundation in fact; others greatly exaggerated, and the actions of ſeveral, who were diſowned and diſclaimed by them, were raked up and imputed to this body of people.

1695. This performance abounds in ſcurrility and falſehood.

Among this author's untruths this was one, that the Quakers in their ſchools did not ſuffer the children to read the holy ſcriptures; which was evidently returned upon him as a palpable falſehood, by a certificate of the French uſher at Wandſworth, who was no quaker; and another ſigned by ſeveral neighbours, perſons of character and conſideration, who teſtified that the bible was daily read in this ſchool (which was a very large boarding ſchool kept by Richard Scoryer, a friend) in a regular courſe of ſucceſſion from the beginning to the end. This book, entitled the Snake in the Graſs, did not paſs unnoticed. The author's miſrepreſentations were laid open, his fabulous tales diſproved, and his crafty impoſture clearly manifeſted in ſuitable replies by George Whitehead, and by Joſeph Wyeth, in a book under the title of *A Switch for the Snake.*

Is anſwered by George Whitehead and Joſeph Wyeth.

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CHAP. IX.

Friends ſtill liable to exorbitant Sufferings for Tithes.—Preſent a Petition to the King.—Conference with the King.—William Penn viſits the Weſtern Counties.—He appoints a Meeting at Wells, which is broken up by the Mayor's Order.—Application for an Affirmation Act.—A Committee appointed to ſolicit Members, and promote paſſing the Act.—In the Houſe of Lords the Biſhops endeavour to fruſtrate the Application.—Form of the firſt Affirmation.—Bill for recovering ſmall Tithes and Church Rates.—Exceptions againſt it.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the people called Quakers were now exempted from ſuffering for attending their religious meetings by the toleration-act; yet the jealouſy of the clergy, and their watchful eye over their own intereſts, prevented friends from obtaining any relief from their ſufferings for the non-payment of tithes, and other eccleſiaſtical demands, by procuring an exception in the foremention'd act, whereby not only the original demand, but the exorbitant and oppreſſive methods of recovery were ſtill retained: reſerving not only their alledged dues, but the power to be vexatious in reclaiming them, a power which many of the clerical order exerted with rigour. For at this time many friends were priſoners, and others under ſevere

Friends ſtill liable to exorbitant ſufferings for tithes.

CHAP. IX. 1695. ſevere proſecutions for non-payment of theſe demands, and ſome long detained in priſon upon contempts (as they term them) becauſe they could not from a conſcientious ſcruple anſwer prieſts bills and complaints upon oath. Friends of the meeting for ſufferings in London taking this matter into conſideration, thought it expedient to draw up a ſtate of the caſe, and preſent it to the king, which was drawn up accordingly in the following terms;

"To the KING.

"The Caſe and requeſt of the peaceable people "commonly called Quakers, in behalf of "many of them, who are preſent ſufferers "for conſcience-ſake, humbly preſented,

"Shewing,

Preſent a petition to the king, in relation thereto.

"That as the God of all our mercies hath "preſerved us a peaceable and quiet people in "the land, according to our chriſtian principle "and profeſſion, under the various revolutions "of government: So we hope and reſolve (by "his divine aſſiſtance) ever ſo to continue; be-"ing heartily thankful for the ſeveral kindneſ-"ſes and compaſſions received from the go-"vernment, eſpecially for the preſent liberty we "now by law enjoy in point of religious wor-"ſhip. Yet foraſmuch as many of ſaid people "are continued under deep ſufferings in their "perſons and eſtates, by tedious impriſonments, "ſeizures and ſequeſtrations; divers alſo of late "having died in priſons, and many more under

"proſecution

" proſecution, and liable ſo to ſuffer in Eng- CHAP.
" land and Wales, tending to the ruin of many IX.
" families for theſe cauſes of conſcience, chiefly
" on contempts (as adjudged) for not anſwering 1695.
" upon oath in caſes of tithe, when ſued in the
" Exchequer; and alſo for not anſwering upon
" oath when proſecuted in the eccleſiaſtical
" courts for tithes, church-rates, &c. where-
" upon they proceeded to excommunication,
" and by ſignificavits procure writs *de excom.*
" *cap.* and ſometimes juſtices warrants to im-
" priſonments.

" We therefore humbly remind the king that
" the great ſeverities and perſecutions formerly
" inflicted on us were ſometimes abated and
" reſpited, when it pleaſed God to move the
" hearts of kings and governments to ſhew ſome
" compaſſion and favour to us,

" 1ſt, By king Charles the ſecond's proclama-
" tion of grace in 1661, whereby many of our
" friends were releaſed and freed out of pri-
" ſon.

" 2d, By his letters patent (or pardon) in
" 1672, purſuant to his declaration of *indul-*
" *gence* to *tender conſciences* in the ſame year.

" 3d, By an act of parliament 25 Car. 2, ch.
" 5. entituled, *An act for the king's majeſty's*
" *moſt gracious and general pardon*, pardoning
" *contempts* againſt the king, whereby many alſo
" of the ſaid people, were diſcharged, and re-
" leaſed out of priſons.

" 4th, Alſo by king James the ſecond many
" were releaſed out of priſons, and relieved by
" divers commiſſions; and two general procla-
" mation pardons, the one in 1685 and the
" other in 1688.

" 5th,

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"5th, And also by an act of *gracious general* "and *free* pardon in the second year of king "William and queen Mary, several were dis- "charged for contempts and imprisonments.

"6th, And by thy late consort the queen "(on application made to her in thy absence) "a poor innocent woman, who had been long "prisoner at Lancaster upon a fine, was releas- "ed; which as an intimation of the queen's "tender and merciful disposition we very thank- "fully acknowledge, as we do also very kindly "acknowledge the king's late favourable incli- "nation to discharge two of our friends, pri- "soners in *Westmorland*, upon a petition presen- "ed by our friend Daniel Quare.

"These precedents of royal favour and com- "passion to the oppressed, and the present con- "finements and hardships of many innocent "persons tenderly considered,

"We the said people humbly request that "the king would be pleased to extend his fa- "vour and compassion towards the said suffe- "rers for their lawful ease and relief from their "present confinements, prisons and hardships, "either by proclamation or otherwise, as in his "wisdom and clemency shall seem most meet "and convenient."

This case and petition was presented to the king by George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, Thomas Lower, John Taylor and Daniel Quare; which last named person being known to the king, had ready access to him, and obtained admission to his presence for the rest; he previously enquiring *who they were, and in what stations*

ſtations in the ſociety; Daniel told him, *they are miniſters and elders among ſt us.* CHAP. IX.

The king then ſent for them into a private apartment, where he was alone; he enquired of them what places they belonged to? Of what congregations they were miniſters? This furniſhed George Whitehead with a favourable opportunity to inform him that they were not ſettled as miniſters or paſtors over any particular congregations, but viſited their friends meetings, as the Lord inclined them: that they did not make a gain of their miniſtry, nor receive ſtipends or hire for preaching; but preached the goſpel freely, according to Chriſt's command to his miniſters, freely ye have received, freely give. The king made no reply, but appeared very ſerious, and ſatisfied with the anſwer. 1695. Conference with the king.

With the king's approbation a copy of the petition was alſo delivered by George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey to the lord keeper Somers, who received it courteouſly, and ſignified his readineſs to comply with their requeſt, as far as the law would admit, aſſuring them that the king was really principled in favour of liberty of conſcience, as he was alſo. And in a ſhort time after; an act of grace was paſſed, whereby about forty friends in priſon on the forementioned accounts were reſtored to liberty.

William Penn in the courſe of laſt year paid a religious viſit to ſeveral of the weſtern counties, and had meetings almoſt daily in the moſt conſiderable towns and other places, which were greatly crouded, and in many places were held in the town-hall, as the only place capable of containing the numbers who flocked to hear him. And in this year repeating his viſit William Penn viſits the weſtern counties.

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visit to the same quarter, some of the inhabitants of the city of Wells, from the accounts they had of his public meetings last year in most of the great towns (this excepted) expressed a desire that he might appoint a meeting there also. He went thither accordingly, and John Whiting and Robert Holder went to seek a suitable place to hold it in, and also to give information thereof to the bishop, according to the prescription of the act of toleration, which appeared afterwards to be a measure of expediency; after they had got a grant of the market-house, the clerk of the market being dissuaded by some persons who were unfriendly, retracted his promise, and when they came at the time appointed refused them admittance; whereupon they concluded to hold the meeting at their inn, and took care previously to certify it also to the bishop. The meeting was held in a large room with a balcony to the street; the room was quickly filled, and there was also a great concourse in the street; so that for the conveniency of the double auditory, William Penn placed himself in the balcony, and thence preached to the people; but in the midst of his declaration he was interrupted by officers from the mayor with the following warrant:

He appoints a meeting at Wells, which is broken up by order of the mayor.

"Wells City and Borough." "To all constables, verderors, and serjeants at mace of the said city."

"Whereas William Penn and several others "called Quakers, are now riotously and unlaw- "fully assembled and gathered together in this "city, and the said William Penn is now preach-

"ing

" ing or teaching in a houſe not licenſed ac- CHAP.
" cording to the late act of parliament; theſe IX.
" are therefore to require you to take the ſaid
" William Penn, and him immediately to bring 1695.
" before us to anſwer the premiſes. Given un-
" der our hands and ſeals this 15th day of No-
" vember, 1695.

" MATTHEW BARON, Mayor.

" WILLIAM SALMON."

The officers, rudely officious, could not be prevailed upon to wait till he had done, although deſired, but forced him away inſtantly before the magiſtrates, who upon examination finding the houſe was certified, and that by diſturbing a lawful aſſembly for an unlawful one, they had exceeded their commiſſion, they excuſed the matter as well as they could, and preſently diſmiſſed him. In this tranſaction we have an evidence that the ſpirit of perſecution ſurvived the act of toleration, and that the diſpoſition to injure ſtill remained in many minds, although the power to gratify it was taken away.

Theſe magiſtrates afterwards threatened the innkeeper to fine him for a conventicle held in his houſe, ſo earneſt were they to revive the former ſeverities; but the biſhop's certificate of the due notice being produced, ſecured the man from their miſchievous deſigns.

Friends after all this hired a houſe in this city for a meeting-place, and William Penn came thither again, and had a meeting to good ſatisfaction. Several other meetings, and the quarterly

CHAP. IX. terly meeting for the county, were afterwards held there.

1695. This year friends of the meeting for ſufferings in London renewed their application to parliament, for accepting the ſolemn affirmation of the members of their ſociety inſtead of an oath, by the following caſe and petition.

" The ſuffering caſe of the People commonly
" called Quakers, relating to oaths and ſwear-
" ing, humbly offered.

Application for relief in the caſe of ſwearing.

" It is not unknown to this nation, that ever
" ſince we were a people, it hath been our
" principle not to ſwear, make, or take oaths,
" which he, who is the ſearcher of all hearts,
" knows is no other than a caſe of pure con-
" ſcience, in tender obedience to the mind of
" our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as
" we are fully perſuaded (according as many
" eminent martyrs and men of wiſdom and re-
" nown were, who teſtified againſt oaths and
" ſwearing in the goſpel day) and not obſti-
" nacy, diſaffection or worldly intereſts whatſo-
" ever on our parts; we being really willing and
" deſirous to anſwer the juſt and good ends of
" law and government, as a peaceable people,
" fearing God; and for this cauſe of not ſwear-
" ing we have been expoſed to great ſufferings
" and inconveniencies in our perſons and eſ-
" tates, by tedious impriſonments, and diſ-
" abled from receiving our due debts, or de-
" fending our juſt titles and properties; not ſuf-
" fered to give evidence in courts of judicature,

" at

" at common or civil law, nor to anſwer in Chan- CHAP.
" cery or Exchequer, prove wills and teſta- IX.
" ments, or take adminiſtrations, or to pro- 1695.
" ceed in our trades at the cuſtom-houſe, or be
" admitted to our lands, or truſted in our duties
" and ſervices in courts leet or courts baron, but
" great advantage is taken againſt us, becauſe
" we ſo fear an oath, as that we dare not ſwear;
" for which cauſe alſo our children and young
" men are not allowed their freedoms in cities
" or corporations, when they have faithfully
" ſerved out their apprenticeſhips; nor admit-
" ted to give our voices in elections of magi-
" ſtrates and parliament members in divers pla-
" ces, though known to have right thereunto,
" as freeholders, &c.

" Wherefore our requeſt is, that in all caſes
" where oaths are impoſed, and ſwearing re-
" quired, our word, that is our ſolemn affir-
" mation or denial, as in the fear and preſence
" of God, may be accepted inſtead of an oath,
" for which we humbly offer, and freely ſub-
" mit, that if any under the ſame profeſſion
" among us, break their word, or be found falſe
" in ſuch affirmation or denial, or guilty of falſe-
" hood in any unſworn teſtimony, evidence or
" anſwers, that then ſuch penalty be inflicted on
" the perſon ſo offending as law and juſtice re-
" quire in caſe of falſe ſwearing or perjury."

" To the reſpective members of the houſe of Application to the houſe of commons.
" commons, the humble application of the
" people commonly called Quakers.

" We the ſaid people, being members of
" that body which you repreſent, and con-

CHAP. IX. 1695.

" cerned in trade and induſtry, and em-
" ploying many poor in the manufactories of
" this nation, as alſo in contributing to the
" charge of the government according to our
" abilities, do deſire and humbly crave that our
" liberties, rights and properties may be ſecur-
" ed to us and ours, that we may no longer be
" expoſed to unjuſt and vexatious ſuits, nor be
" a prey to ill diſpoſed perſons, who take advan-
" tage againſt us, to proſecute and ruin us,
" merely becauſe in point of tender conſcience,
" *we dare not ſwear in any caſe*, which is in
" obedience to the command of our bleſſed
" Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as we verily
" believe is our duty in this goſpel day; but
" hold ourſelves obliged to declare and teſtify
" the truth without oath, in caſes wherein
" our anſwers and teſtimonies may be re-
" quired.

" Wherefore we humbly entreat your chriſ-
" tian compaſſion in your favourable acceptance
" of our petition, which is for leave to bring in
" a bill for our relief, and ſo to conſider our
" ſuffering caſe as if it were your own, and you
" in our ſtead; that we and our poſterity may
" have cauſe to bleſs the Lord on your behalf."

" To the commons of England in parliament
" aſſembled.

Petition. " The humble petition of the People called
" Quakers.

" Sheweth,

" Our many long and renewed ſufferings for
" *not ſwearing* we hope may give ſatisfaction to
" this

" this nation, that it is purely our conſcientious CHAP.
" and religious principle *not to ſwear in any* IX.
" *caſe*, in tender obedience to the command of
" our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as 1695.
" we are fully perſuaded, and according to the
" example of many eminent martyrs and men
" of holineſs, wiſdom and renown, who teſti-
" fied againſt oaths and ſwearing in the goſpel
" day; nevertheleſs we have been, and yet are
" expoſed in our perſons to tedious impriſon-
" ments, in our eſtates to ſequeſtrations and
" ſeizures, diſabled from defending our juſt
" titles and properties, recovering our juſt debts,
" or helping others in like caſes, and to many
" unjuſt and vexatious ſuits.

" Wherefore the power of relieving us by
" law from theſe our grievances and hardſhips,
" reſting in the king and parliament, our hum-
" ble requeſt is, that you will favourably pleaſe
" to give leave to bring in a bill, that our
" ſolemn affirmation or denial may be accept-
" ed inſtead of an oath, freely ſubmitting, that
" whoever in this caſe ſhall falſify the truth, and
" be thereof duly convicted, ſhall undergo like
" pains and penalties as in law and juſtice are
" due unto perjured perſons."

A committee of the aforeſaid meeting was moreover appointed to ſolicit the members in favour of the petition, and to procure the paſſing of a bill for the relief of friends. They ſhewed copies of the petition to many of the members, to furniſh them previouſly with a clear underſtanding of the nature of the caſe, as having a conſcientious ſcruple againſt violating the command of Chriſt, *ſwear not at all*, which they underſtood

Committee appointed to ſolicit members, and promote the paſſing of the bill.

CHAP. IX. 1695. underſtood to be a poſitive prohibition; alſo to ſhew them the great neceſſity of affording them relief in this caſe, by reaſon of the hardſhipsand diſappointments to themſelves and others, for want of their power to give legal evidence without injuring their conſciences.

They ſpent ſome weeks in ſolicitation previous to their introduction of the petition, being deſirous that it might not be preſented too haſtily or abruptly, before the members of the houſe were properly apprized of the tenour and tendency thereof, and prepared for its reception. They then applied to Edmund Waller, Eſq; to take in the petition, which he cheerfully undertook, moved the reading thereof, and for leave to bring in a bill, *that the ſolemn affirmation, &c.* which motion was carried by a great majority, and leave accordingly given.

The friends of the committee would have been glad to have procured the acceptance of their ſimple affirmation or negation without any appeal to the divine Being; but their friends in the houſe, who were rejoiced at their ſucceſs ſo far, and who were active in promoting the bill, giving their opinion, that to make the atteſtation ſo ſolemn in courts of juſtice, as to be adequate to the idea of the parliament, there muſt be ſome ſolemn or ſacred expreſſions reſpecting the omniſcience of God, as, *ſolemnly to declare the truth in his preſence*, in which form they thought it more eligible to acquieſce, than to riſque the loſing of the bill. In this form it paſſed the houſe of commons.

In order to procure it an eaſy paſſage through the houſe of lords, the caſe of friends was reprinted and enlarged; particularly with reference

to

to the Menoniſts in Holland, who had ſince 1577 the indulgence granted them, that their *Yea and Nay* ſhould be accepted inſtead of an oath, they being ſubject in caſe of falſifying the truth to the penalty of perjury, and no public or private damage had been found to reſult therefrom. CHAP. IX. 1695.

But although king William had made it his ſtudy to fill up the vacant ſees with men of diſtinguiſhed moderation, yet there ſeemed to remain ſtill ſome biſhops of the old caſt, who retained an averſion to the eaſe intended by this bill, and excepting againſt the form of affirmation, aimed at defeating the benefit thereof, by ſubſtituting an oath in effect, in a different form, in place of an oath in the common form. Inſtead of the affirmation, as it came from the commons, they wanted to introduce more ſolemn aſſeverations, ſuch as, I call God to witneſs and judge, &c. I call God to record upon my ſoul, and appeal to God as a judge of the truth of what I ſay, &c. which the committee of the meeting for ſufferings being informed of by ſome of the temporal peers, who were friendly, and wiſhed to redreſs the grievances of the ſociety in this reſpect, juſtly remarked that the end of their ſolicitation and petitioning to be freed from all oaths, as contrary to their conſcientious perſuaſion, would be manifeſtly defeated by the impoſition of a new oath, in which light they underſtood all theſe propoſed forms of expreſſion, whereinto the invocation of the ſacred name as judge or avenger was introduced. Upon this repreſentation the peers returned into the houſe, and entered into a freſh debate, and returning back to the friends in waiting, informed them that they had brought the biſhops to agree to this amendment, to add after the word

In the houſe of lords biſhops endeavour to fruſtrate their application.

By changing the form of the affirmation into a ſolemn oath in a new form.

CHAP. IX. 1695.

word [God] theſe words [the witneſs of the truth of what I ſay] and earneſtly perſuaded them to agree to the addition of theſe words, rather than loſe the bill, whereupon the ſaid friends, finding they could do no better, conſented to leave the matter to their diſcretion; ſo the bill was finally paſſed, with an affirmation in this form, *I, A. B. do declare in the preſence of Almighty God, the witneſs of the truth of what I ſay.*

Form of firſt affirmation.

The act as paſſed, beſides the foregoing, contained the following article.

Clauſe reſpecting tithes.

" Fourthly, And whereas, by reaſon of a pretended ſcruple of conſcience, Quakers do refuſe to pay tithes and church-rates, be it enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that where any Quaker ſhall refuſe to pay or compound for his great or ſmall tithes, or to pay any church-rates, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the two next juſtices of peace of the ſame county (other than ſuch juſtice of the peace as is patron of the church or chapel whence the ſaid tithes do or ſhall ariſe, or any ways intereſted in the ſaid tithes) upon the complaint of any parſon, vicar, farmer or proprietor of tithes, church-warden or church-wardens, who ought to have, receive or collect the ſame, by warrant under their hands and ſeals, to convene before them ſuch Quaker or Quakers neglecting or refuſing to pay or compound for the ſame, and to examine upon oath, which oath the ſaid juſtices are hereby empowered to adminiſter, or in ſuch manner as by this act is provided, the truth and juſtice of the ſaid complaint, and to aſcertain and ſtate what is due and payable by ſuch Quaker or Quakers to the party or par-

" ties

" ties complaining; and by order under their hands and ſeals to direct and appoint the payment thereof, ſo as the ſum ordered as aforeſaid do not exceed ten pounds; and upon refuſal by ſuch Quaker or Quakers to pay, according to ſuch order, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any one of the ſaid juſtices, by warrant under his hand and ſeal to levy the money thereby ordered to be paid, by diſtreſs and ſale of goods of ſuch offender, his executors or adminiſtrators, rendering only the overplus to him, her or them, neceſſary charges of diſtraining being thereout firſt deducted and allowed by the ſaid juſtice; and any perſon finding him, her or themſelves aggrieved by any judgment given by ſuch two juſtices of the peace, ſhall and may appeal to the next general quarter ſeſſions to be held for the county, riding, city or town corporate; and the juſtices of the peace there preſent, or the major part of them, ſhall proceed finally to hear and determine the matter, and to reverſe the ſaid judgment, if they ſhall ſee cauſe; and if the juſtices then preſent, or the major part of them, ſhall find cauſe to continue the judgment given by the firſt two juſtices of the peace, they ſhall then decree the ſame by order of ſeſſions, and ſhall alſo proceed to give ſuch coſts againſt the appellant, to be levied by diſtreſs and ſale of goods and chattels of the ſaid appellant, as to them ſhall ſeem juſt and reaſonable; and no proceedings or judgment had or to be had by virtue of this act ſhall be removed or ſuperſeded by any writ of *certiorari* or other writ out of his majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, or any other court whatſoever,

CHAP. IX. 1695.

CHAP. IX. "whatſoever, unleſs the title of ſuch tithes "ſhall be in queſtion."

1695. This act for ſeven years, was at the expiration continued for eleven years longer, and afterwards in the year 1715 made perpetual; but the terms of this affirmation being ſtill uneaſy to many friends, who conſcientiouſly ſcrupling the uſe thereof, as in their opinion approaching too near the nature of an oath, by reaſon of an implied appeal to God for the truth, applied for an amendment thereof in the year 1721, and obtained their requeſt.

Bill brought in for better payment of ſmall tithes and church-rates.

Whilſt king William was ſtudiouſly endeavouring to relieve the people called Quakers from their ſufferings and hardſhips to which they were expoſed, the high-church eccleſiaſticks were contriving to bring them under the laſh of a freſh penal law. A bill was brought into the houſe of lords about this time, by the biſhop of London, and warmly promoted by him, for the better payment of church-rates, ſmall tithes and other church dues, whereby the penalties of the act of 32 Henry VIII. for the recovery of predial tithes were extended to ſmall tithes, repairing the public places of worſhip, clerk's wages, and even the demands of the ſexton; ſo that for a trifling demand of perhaps leſs than a ſhilling any perſon might be ſubjected to the enormous expenſe of a ſuit in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and if he did not obey the monition of the judge to pay the demands and coſts, he was to be attached, and committed to priſon without bail or mainprize, as ſpecified in the aforeſaid act of Henry VIII. for predial tithes, with this addition, that the juſtices may grant warrants to diſtrain the

the goods of defendants in ſuch cauſes, or im- CHAP. priſon if no diſtreſs could be found. IX.

A bill of this tendency to bring very ſevere injury to the people called Quakers muſt neceſſarily awaken the attention of the meeting for ſufferings in London. Having previouſly procured a copy of the bill, and prepared ſome exceptions to it, ſhewing how injurious it would be to the rights and properties of the ſubject, and how repugnant to common law and juſtice, if paſſed into an act, and having notice of the day appointed for a committee of the lords to ſit upon it, ſome of the friends of London were admitted to an audience of the ſaid committee. The biſhop of London being chairman interrogated them what reaſon they had to except againſt the bill? To which George Whitehead replied, the ſame reaſon that is given in the act of parliament 17 Charles I. for aboliſhing the ſtar-chamber and high commiſſion courts, it being conceived with ſubmiſſion, that the ſame reaſons may be objected to the preſent bill, as giving abſolute power to the eccleſiaſtical courts, their judges and ordinaries, to paſs definitive ſentence without appeal, and conveying to them the power of becoming arbitrary and oppreſſive, which were the reaſons aſſigned for aboliſhing the aforeſaid arbitrary courts. 1695.

Friends of London appear againſt it.

The temporal lords were very civil and kind during the conference, and after much diſcourſe the biſhop aſking if they had any exceptions to offer in writing, was anſwered in the affirmative, and the following exceptions produced:

" Exceptions

CHAP. IX. 1695.

" Exceptions againſt the bill, entitled an act for " the better payment of church-rates, ſmall " tithes, and other church dues; and for " better paſſing church-wardens accounts.

Exceptions againſt the bill.

" Humbly offered,

" It is obſerved, That in the ſaid bill no " appeal to any other or higher court is grant- " ed, or proviſion made for redreſs or reſtitu- " tion to the perſons wrongfully proſecuted; " nor for the puniſhment of ſuch as may ma- " liciouſly or wrongfully proſecute others; but " the eccleſiaſtical judge is made the ſole judge " and determiner, by his definitive ſentence, " concerning the penalties upon the perſons and " perſonal eſtates.—No trial by juries allowed, " although the penalty ſeems to be two-fold, or " of two kinds, impriſonment of perſons and " diſtreſs of goods.—No diſcharge of the pri- " ſoner provided when diſtreſs is made; doth " not this amount to two puniſhments for one " offence (ſuppoſed) that is loſs of liberty and " loſs of goods, tending to ſtarve the poor " widow and children at home?—No legal ex- " cuſe admitted or provided for the party cited, " ſummoned or proſecuted, ſuppoſe he be gone " a long journey, or otherwiſe unavoidably pre- " vented by his emergent occaſions from ap- " pearing, but he muſt be taken *pro confeſſo*, " which is to condemn him without hearing. " The penalty the ſame for not paying the clerks " or ſexton or church-rates, as is for not pay- " ing ſmall tithes. Query, *How can this be* " *equal or bear proportion?* May not this in- " creaſe

" creaſe our trouble and ſufferings, by thus giv- CHAP.
" ing power to ſo many, and ſuch proſecutors IX.
" as clerks, ſextons, &c. and on ſuch ſmall ac- 1695.
" counts as theirs.

" Any party or witneſſes cited to appear in
" the eccleſiaſtical court are liable to impriſon-
" ment upon certificate from the ſaid court,
" which is or may be very hard, eſpecially as
" to our friends, who cannot for conſcience-
" ſake ſwear in any caſe.

" Whether this bill does not exceed the ſta-
" tute 32 Henry VIII. c. 7. in ſeverity, and give
" greater and more abſolute power to the ec-
" cleſiaſtical courts over men's perſons and pro-
" perties than ever they had, excepting the power
" of the ſtar-chamber and the eccleſiaſtical com-
" miſſioners, or high commiſſion court, taken
" away, repealed and made void, 17 Car. I.
" chap. 10, 11. An appeal ſeems allowed, ſtat.
" Hen. VIII. chap. 7. § 3. Here's none in this
" bill. Impriſonments till ſureties to perform
" the definitive ſentence and judgment of the
" court eccleſiaſtical, but no diſtreſs of goods
" in the interim, by the ſaid ſtatute 32 Henry
" VIII. chap. 7. § 4. which yet is very hard and
" ſevere of itſelf.

" It is alſo with ſubmiſſion conceived that
" other reaſons againſt this bill may be duly al-
" ledged, and ſuch as formerly did legally and
" juſtly induce the parliament to repeal the ſta-
" tute made the eleventh year of Henry VII.
" chap. 3. which was repealed in the firſt year
" of Henry VIII. chap. 6. vide Chief Juſtice
" Coke's Inſtitutes, part 4, folio 40, 41, and
" ſecond part, folio 51, where Richard Empſon
" and Edmund Dudley's arbitrary proceedings

" thereupon

CHAP. IX. 1695.

" thereupon are diſcovered and condemned, as
" well as the ſaid court of ſtar-chamber, and
" the power of the high commiſſion court, were
" taken away by king and parliament, as before
" quoted.

" 'Tis conceived that the ſame reaſons for
" removing thoſe courts and repeal of the
" branch of the ſaid ſtatute, 1 Eliz. (which gave
" them their power and juriſdiction) ſtand good
" againſt the preſent bill, as being contrary to
" the great charter and common courſe of juſ-
" tice, by giving ſuch abſolute power to the ec-
" cleſiaſtical courts and their judges, to deter-
" mine and give definitive ſentence and judg-
" ment upon ſubjects perſonal eſtates or goods
" and chattels, and for confinement of perſons;
" which tends greatly to oppreſs, burden and
" ruin them. Laſtly, the liberty of conſcience
" already confirmed by law may greatly be in-
" fringed and leſſened, if the eccleſiaſtical judges
" or courts have ſuch abſolute power and juriſ-
" diction given them over men's perſons and pro-
" perties, according to the import of the preſent
" bill; which it is really believed muſt needs
" greatly diſſatisfy many thouſands of the king's
" conſcientious proteſtant ſubjects, and increaſe
" the number of priſoners, of which there are
" many on the account of conſcience already."

The bill was laid aſide.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Treaty of Ryſwick.—Addreſs of the People called Quakers thereupon.—A Spirit of Perſecution revived.—Some Prieſts of Norfolk challenge to a Diſpute.—They publiſh two abuſive Tracts.—Anſwered by George Whitehead.—Remonſtrance by William Penn.—They procure a Petition againſt the Quakers to Parliament.—The Petition ſuppreſſed.—Second Petition from the Magiſtrates of Edmundſbury, Suffolk, alſo ſuppreſſed.—Account of Charles Marſhall.—Account of John Crook.

A TREATY of peace was concluded at Ryſwick this year between England, France and Holland, whereby the nation was relieved from a long and expenſive war, and king William acknowledged by Lewis XIV. as king of Great Britain, who alſo engaged not to diſturb king William in the poſſeſſion of his realms and government, nor aſſiſt his enemies, nor favour conſpiracies againſt his perſon. Addreſſes of congratulation hereupon being made or ſent up to the king from many quarters, and from moſt or all other ſocieties of proteſtants; this ſociety alſo in point of gratitude for the religious liberty they now enjoyed, and to teſtify their ſatisfaction in the reſtoration of peace, preſented the following addreſs: CHAP. X. 1697.

"To

CHAP. X.

" To king William the third, over England, &c.

1697. Addreſs to king William on the treaty of Ryſwick.

" The grateful acknowledgment of the People " commonly called Quakers, humbly pre- " ſented.

" May it pleaſe the king,

" Seeing the moſt high God, who ruleth in " the kingdoms of men, and appointeth over " them whomſoever he will, hath by his over- " ruling power and providence placed thee in " dominion and dignity over theſe realms, and " by his divine favour has ſignally preſerved " and delivered thee from many great and immi- " nent dangers, and graciouſly turned the cala- " mity of war into the deſired mercy of peace; " we heartily wiſh that we and all others con- " cerned may be truly ſenſible and humbly " thankful to Almighty God for the ſame, that " the peace may be a laſting and perpetual bleſ- " ſing.

" And now, O king, the God of peace hav- " ing returned thee in ſafety, it is cauſe of joy " to them that fear him, to hear thy good and " ſeaſonable reſolution effectually to diſcourage " profaneneſs and immorality, righteouſneſs " being that which exalteth a nation. And as " the king has been tenderly inclined to give " eaſe and liberty of conſcience to his ſubjects " of different perſuaſions (of whoſe favours we " have largely partaken) ſo we eſteem it our " duty gratefully to commemorate and acknow- " ledge the ſame, earneſtly beſeeching Almighty " God to aſſiſt the king to proſecute all theſe

" his

" his juſt and good inclinations, that his days CHAP.
" here may be happy and peaceable, and here- X.
" after he may partake of a laſting crown that
" will never fade away." 1697.

London, 7th of 11mo. called January, 1697.

1698. The ſociety of people, called Quakers, al- A ſpirit of perſecution revived. though they now enjoyed the exemptions of the act of toleration, did not enjoy them unmoleſted. There ſtill ſurvived a ſpirit of perſecution and intolerance in ſundry eccleſiaſticks and others, who envied them the liberty with which they were favoured, and united their exertions to deprive them thereof. The firſt effort about this time was made by ſome prieſts of Norfolk, at the inſtigation of one Francis Bugg, who formerly made profeſſion with the people called Quakers, and had apoſtatized from them ſome years before, whether with William Rogers and the ſeparatiſts of that day, or before, I find no certain account; he ſeems to have been of too little conſequence to be particularly noticed, only in a curſory manner, in any records or memoirs of this people I have met with.

Theſe Norfolk prieſts commenced hoſtilities by Some prieſts of Norfolk challenge to a diſpute. a challenge to a public meeting in their pariſh church (ſo called) at Weſt Deerham, where ſome friends of London and of the country met them; the prieſts had got many books written by ſome of the ſociety, and endeavoured from thence to draw injurious concluſions, which they could not make good, nor gain the advantage they expected and aimed at in this diſpute.

CHAP. X.

1698. They publiſh two abuſive tracts.

Being diſappointed in their hopes in this verbal controverſy, they then took up the pen, and publiſhed two tracts, entitled, 1ſt. *A Brief Diſcovery, &c.* 2d, *Some few of the Quakers many horrid Blaſphemies*; and now diſcovering their real intention, they preſented theſe calumniating tracts to the parliament or members thereof, to prepare the way for their further attempts.

Anſwered by George Whitehead.

Theſe books, written with deſign to repreſent the principles of the Quakers blaſphemous, and the people ſeditious, met with ſuitable anſwers by George Whitehead, wherein their ungenerous aims were detected, and their acrimonious and injurious aſſertions refuted; and copies of this anſwer were alſo delivered to the members of parliament, to obviate any ill impreſſions from their miſrepreſentations.

Remonſtrance by W. Penn.

But as theſe anſwers could not be finiſhed and printed off ſo expeditiouſly as the exigency required, the following brief remonſtrance, drawn up by William Penn, was in the mean time printed, and handed to the members of parliament.

"It does not ſurprize us to be evilly entreated, and eſpecially by thoſe that have an intereſt in doing it. But if conſcience prevailed more than contention, and charity overruled prejudice, we might hope for fairer quarter from our adverſaries.

"But ſuch is our unhappineſs, that nothing leſs will ſatisfy them than breaking in upon the indulgence that we enjoy, if they could perſuade the government to ſecond their attempts to a new perſecution, in order to which we perceive they have been hard at work, to pervert our books, violate our ſenſe, abuſe

"our

" our practice, and ridicule our perſons; know- CHAP.
" ing very well with whom they have to do, X.
" and that the patience of our profeſſion is
" their ſecurity for abuſing of it. 1698.

" However, if it has weight enough with our " ſuperiors to expect a freſh defence of our " principles and practices, we ſhall, with God's " aſſiſtance, be ready, for their ſatisfaction, " once more to juſtify both, againſt the inſults " of our reſtleſs adverſaries; who otherwiſe, " we take leave to ſay, would not deſerve our " notice, ſince we have already repeatedly an- " ſwered their objections in print, and think it " our duty, as well as wiſdom, to uſe the li- " berty the government has favoured us with, " in as peaceable and inoffenſive a manner as " may be."

Notwithſtanding which, theſe prieſts and their aſſiſtant Francis Bugg, and other abettors, not contented with vilifying the people called Quakers with their groſs aſperſions in print, proceeded in their deſign, and procured an invidious petition to the houſe of commons replete with general invectives againſt this people, accuſations without grounds, and calumnies which they could not prove; a copy whereof will evince the extent of their evil diſpoſition, and their reluctance to the toleration granted by the late act.

These prieſts procure an invidious petition to parliament.

" To the Houſe of Commons.

" Norfolk petition of juſtices and grand jurors.

" We cannot without reſentment take notice " of the great growth and daily increaſe of the

CHAP. X. 1698.

"Quakers, and the *miſchiefs* and *dangers* from "thence threatening this nation.

"It is obſervable with what reſtleſs zeal their "deluding teachers, and (as we ſuſpect) many "*Romiſh emiſſaries* under their diſguiſe ramble "into all parts of theſe kingdoms, and boldly "ſpread their *venomous doctrines* every where; "attempting to infect and ſhake the minds of "weak proteſtants; and aſſuming rules of diſ-"cipline, powers in matters of religion and "forms of government, repugnant to the eſta-"bliſhed laws of this kingdom, contrary to the "very act of toleration, and not allowed to any "other diſſenters; vouching all their actions by "divine inſpiration for their warrant, and the "indulgence of the government for their in-"demnity.

"How apparently their *blaſphemous books* and "*pernicious principles* tend to ſubvert the funda-"mentals of chriſtianity and undermine the ci-"vil government is ſufficiently demonſtrable; "the publiſhing whereof, by pretended per-"miſſion of the government, is of a moſt dan-"gerous conſequence.

"The prayer is to take theſe things into con-"ſideration, that (with whatſoever tenderneſs "to the perſons and eſtates of theſe people) "their ſaid principles and practices may be "ſtrictly examined, and cenſured or ſuppreſſed "as they ſhall appear to deſerve, and as in "your great wiſdom ſhall ſeem expedient; "and that the true chriſtian religion may be "preſerved from popiſh ſuperſtition and unpol-"luted with enthuſiaſtical innovations."

It

1698.

It is unneceſſary to make any comment on this extraordinary petition, it ſpeaks for itſelf, that the ſpirit of perſecution ſurvived the act of toleration in the breaſts of all concerned in it. Two prieſts, John Meriton and L—— Topcliff attended the parliament to ſolicit the introducing of their petition into the houſe; but the times were now changed, and more liberal ſentiments in reſpect to religious liberty generally adopted by all men of ſenſe and candour, than had prevailed in the preceding reigns. Friends having obtained a copy of the petition ſhewed it to ſeveral of the leading members of parliament, and how the direct tendency thereof was to make void the act of toleration, and the liberty of conſcience legally granted by the government. This conſequence was too obvious, not to be perceived by the members at the firſt view, and they reſolved accordingly to ſet their faces againſt the petition; the petitioners put it into the hands of the members for the county, who were brought into a diſagreeable dilemma, under the proſpect of either diſobliging the clergy of their own county and their partiſans, or taking a part contrary to their own judgment and the general ſentiments of the houſe: But on due deliberation they prudently withheld the petition, as thinking it in vain to make a motion in favour of a meaſure which they were ſenſible would be immediately rejected.

Friends obtain a copy of the petition, and ſhew it to the members of parliament.

The petition ſuppreſſed.

A petition of the like tenour and tendency was alſo drawn up by the magiſtrates of Edmundſbury in Suffolk, who had ſignalized their promptitude to perſecution, while the penal laws were in force, and hereby evidenced their regret at being deprived of the power of domi-

Second petition from the magiſtrates of Edmundſbury.

CHAP. X. 1698.

domineering and harraſſing their inoffenſive fellow ſubjects, and their eagerneſs to regain it. Their petition was drawn up in the following terms:

"To the honourable the commons of England, "in parliament aſſembled.

"The humble petition of the aldermen, aſſiſtant "juſtice, and chief burgeſs and burgeſſes of "the common-council, in behalf of themſelves "and the other inhabitants of the borough "of Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk.

"Humbly ſheweth,

"That we conſidering all ancient hereſies "which have vexed both church and ſtate, "were never ſo formidable in their riſe and "progreſs, as are the Quakers; we have too "juſt a cauſe of dreading the ſubverſion of our "government by them if not carefully prevented and ſuppreſſed, being in their clandeſtine "conſtitutions oppoſite to the condition of our "eſtabliſhed policy, and in their principles of "faith anti-chriſtian; of government anti-monarchical; in points of doctrine anti-ſcriptural; and in practices illegal, having their "monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, which "we cannot but reaſonably believe tend not "only to the ſubverſion of our laws but of our "religion alſo, to us of greater concern than "our lives.

"We

" We therefore, obliged in duty to God and CHAP.
" our country, do humbly pray your timely X.
" conſideration of our jealouſies, and remove
" our fears, if not by totally ſuppreſſing, yet 1698.
" at leaſt by preventing their after-growth and
" increaſe amongſt us; that our poſterity may
" untroubled live by this early care of our laws
" and liberties, and we enjoy the wiſhed-for
" happineſs of a peaceful life."

The tendency of this petition was ſo plain and evident, that after the care of friends reſpecting the Norfolk petition they had little trouble about this, for the Suffolk members had with others declared their averſion to the principles and drift of the former petition, and therefore would not violate their own judgments and convictions ſo far as to introduce it into the houſe; but prudently ſuppreſſed it. Suppreſſed alſo.

In this year this ſociety in the city of London in particular, was deprived of the company and ſervices of a very valuable and reſpectable member in the deceaſe of Charles Marſhall, who had fixed his reſidence for ſeveral years paſt in that city. He was born in the city of Briſtol, in the 4th month, 1637, and his parents being perſons of religious and virtuous diſpoſitions gave him a good education, directed to cultivate a ſimilar virtuous diſpoſition in him, as well as to furniſh him with a ſufficient attainment of literature, to fill his ſtation in future life with reputation. Faithful guardians of his tender youth, they endeavoured to preſerve his innocency by a cautious reſtriction from the company of ſuch children, as being leſs carefully educated, by their converſation and example might prove injurious Account of C. Marſhall.

to

CHAP. X. 1698.

to him. Whilſt yet a child he took delight in reading the ſcriptures, and conceived an abhorrence of ſwearing, lying and other immoralities; at this tender age his mother was careful to take him along with her to the meetings of the independents, which ſhe frequented, who were at that time an enlightened, ſincere and conſcientious people; ſometimes he went to the baptiſt meetings, and after the cuſtom of that ſeeking age, to hear thoſe teachers of every denomination, who were in greateſt repute for their zeal, experience and piety.

As he grew in years and experience, he perceived that many of theſe people departed from the pure principle of light and grace, into lifeleſs and empty profeſſion, wherefore he became diſſatisfied with them, and left them, ſpending much time in ſolitary retirement in the fields and woods to pour forth his ſupplications to the Almighty, and meditate in his law, out of the ſight or obſervation of men; being in great conflict of ſpirit under the weight of death and darkneſs prevailing over him, he cried for deliverance, and being now much detached from gathered ſocieties, he conſorted with ſome other ſeeking people, who ſpent one day in the week in faſting and prayer.

This was about the year 1654, when John Camm and John Audland, having under a religious engagement of mind travelled to Briſtol, viſited this ſelect ſociety in their meeting, when by the powerful miniſtry of John Audland, Charles Marſhall was effectually reached, convinced and turned to an attention to the manifeſtations of the light in his own heart.

Through

Through a long ſeries of inward exerciſes, ſpiritual conflicts and aſſaults of the prince of the power of the air, which were made manifeſt by the light in his conſcience, he grew in experience till the work of ſanctification was meaſurably perfected, and after many years, viz. in the year 1670, he received a diſpenſation of the goſpel to miniſter to others, in the like demonſtration of a divine influence by which he himſelf had been convinced; and by his labours and travels was inſtrumental to convince many others, and convert them to righteouſneſs, continuing a faithful miniſter to the laſt. CHAP. X. 1698.

In the ſame year 1670 he commenced his travels in the work of the miniſtry under the impreſſion of a divine requiſition, firſt through the neighbouring counties of Wiltſhire and Glouceſterſhire, and thence northward as far as Kendal in Weſtmorland, and back again through Cheſhire, Worceſterſhire and Glouceſterſhire home; and ſo continued his travels pretty conſtantly to the year 1672, during which time he viſited moſt parts of England, and what at this time was very remarkable, met with no interruption by impriſonment or from informers, no man being ſuffered to lay hands on him or ſtop his journey; neither did any man (as far as he knew or heard) loſe five pounds on his account by means of the conventicle act. But he was twice ſick, nigh unto death, and paſſed through many trials, difficulties and jeopardies, from which he experienced deliverance many ways. One particular inſtance was this, having the ſands to croſs near Ulverſton in Lancaſhire, he came in company with four others to the river ſide, where they were informed by two perſons who

CHAP. X. 1698.

who lived on the other ſide, that they might get over in ſafety; but he found a ſtop in his own mind, and ſtanding ſtill he received this intelligence, which he underſtood to be a divine warning, *that if any attempted to go at that time they would periſh*; and in about an hour the ſea overflowed the ſands, which were ſeveral miles over, whence they concluded, if they had gone at that time they had loſt their lives.

Although he ſeems to have eſcaped impriſonment and perſonal injury beyond moſt of his friends cotemporary with him, yet he did not eſcape entirely. Being at a meeting at Claverham in Somerſetſhire, in the 10th month 1674, ſome juſtices came to break up the meeting, one of whom, Francis Pawlet of Wells, as he was concerned in prayer, laid violent hands on him to pull him through the rail of the gallery, and gripped him by the ſide ſo rudely and ſo hard as cauſed him to ſpit blood, and haled him out of the meeting, whereby he received a contuſion, of which he complained long after.

He is impriſoned for non-payment of tithes.

He was a conſiderable ſufferer for his teſtimony againſt tithes, in the loſs and ſpoil of his goods. In the year 1682, whilſt reſident at Tetherington in Wiltſhire, he was proſecuted for tithes by John Townſhend, prieſt of that pariſh, in conſequence whereof he was arreſted, and brought before the barons of the Exchequer, and committed to the Fleet priſon, where he was confined for the ſpace of two years. The prieſt growing uneaſy in his mind about this time, came in perſon to the priſon, releaſed him, and ſoon after died. Upon his releaſe Charles Marſhall ſtayed in London, and fixed his domeſtick reſidence there, but was frequent

in

in his visits to his native city, Bristol, and places adjacent, as well as several other parts of England.

Previous to his said imprisonment, while he was a resident in Wiltshire, the separation which had its rise in Westmorland, by the opposition of John Wilkinson and John Story to the establishment of an orderly discipline, had spread to the city of Bristol and the adjacent counties, particularly Wiltshire, which was a new source of exercise to our said friend with others of his brethren, men of discernment and integrity, who clearly perceived the fallacious origin and pernicious tendency thereof, and exerted their joint endeavours in much sincerity, meekness and patience, to prevent its progress, by zealous and charitable endeavours to convince the opponents of their error, to recover them to a better temper, and to rescue the more unexperienced or unstable members of the society from being drawn aside by plausible and deceptive reasonings. For this purpose George Fox in the year 1677 came to Bristol, and being joined by William Penn and Charles Marshall they obtained a meeting with William Rogers and several others of the separatists, in order to convince them of their error and the causelessness of their separation, and the hurt which the temper of their own minds sustained by entertaining sensations of rancour, passion and hostility to their former friends, upon groundless surmises and suspicions; but their well meant endeavours were ineffectual, these separatists of Bristol being elevated in self-sufficiency and obstinate in their opposition, like their associates of Westmorland, eluded all advances to reconciliation and mutual concord.

1698.

He joins G. Fox and W. Penn in endeavours to reclaim the separatists, but in vain.

Being

CHAP. X.

1698. Yet exerts himſelf to eſtabliſh diſcipline in theſe parts, notwithſtanding their oppoſition.

Being thus determined to perſiſt in their oppoſition to the eſtabliſhment of good order in the ſociety, and Charles Marſhall from clear conviction of the utility thereof, finding it his duty to exert himſelf to procure its eſtabliſhment in thoſe counties and places where the oppoſition thereto was kept up with the greateſt violence of enmity, he met with many trials of his faith and patience amongſt them: But being on a good foundation, engaged in a good cauſe, and finding all endeavours to recover the opponents to a better temper fruitleſs, he oppoſed their machinations with wiſdom and fortitude, and bore his teſtimony againſt the ſpirit they were in with faithfulneſs, and without giving way to their inſinuations or reproaches in the leaſt. In the authority of the goſpel, he with his fellow labourers maintained a ſuperiority over the antagoniſts, and laboured with a good degree of ſucceſs to lay open the fallacy of their pretenſions, and to eſtabliſh the churches in the city of Briſtol and the adjacent counties in peace and good order.

Through many trying exerciſes of body and mind he continued his labours and travels in the work of the miniſtry for the greateſt part of twenty years, freely given up to ſpend his ſubſtance, time and ſtrength therein for the gaining of ſouls, and converting many to the way of life and ſalvation. His laſt journey was to Briſtol and the weſtern counties, after his return from which he was viſited with a lingering indiſpoſition which proved mortal, contrary to the opinion of his phyſicians, but not to his own, for he ſeemed fixed in the opinion that it

it would terminate his exiſtence in this world. CHAP. X.

And even before his illneſs he ſeemed to have a preſage of his approaching end, for ſome little time before he preſſingly requeſted an intimate friend to take a ride with him, having ſomething of moment to impart, and when they were gone a few miles out of London, he told him, *he was ſatisfied the time of his departure drew near, and therefore he was deſirous of an opportunity to diſcourſe with him between themſelves about ſome particulars before he died.* 1698. Piety promoted.

And when, ſoon after this, he was ſeized with indiſpoſition, though he remained ſettled in opinion that he ſhould not recover; yet this fixed perſuaſion of his mind was attended with no fearful apprehenſions of his future well-being; having paſſed a life of faithfulneſs, integrity and extenſive benevolence in the ſervice of God and man, he felt, in the aſſured proſpect of his approaching change, that the work of righteouſneſs was peace, and the effect thereof quietneſs and aſſurance for ever.

Being adviſed to go into the country for the benefit of the air, he rather choſe to be removed to John Padley's, near the river ſide, a friend for whom he had an affectionate eſteem; he lay ill about four months in great weakneſs, frequently attended with great pain; but borne up ſuperior to his affliction, by the ſerenity of his conſcience, he was ſtrengthened to bear his painful ſenſations with much patience and calm reſignation to divine diſpoſal; and his ſenſes and underſtanding were preſerved to him clear and ſound to the laſt, under the pure influence of

CHAP. X. of heavenly ſupport and the conſolatory enjoyments of divine life.

1698. His love to his brethren, his univerſal benevolence and his ſpiritual abilities, appeared to feel no decay from his bodily weakneſs, as his expreſſions and his counſel to thoſe, who came to viſit him in his ſickneſs, clearly evidenced; particularly to ſome of his brethren in the miniſtry he addreſſed himſelf to the following purport, as related by one then preſent, who committed the ſubſtance of his expreſſions to writing preſently after; "I have loved the brethren, I have ſought "the unity and peace of the church for theſe "forty years, and to my great comfort never "did any thing tending to the breach there-"of.

"Two things are weightily impreſſed upon "my mind warmly to recommend to friends, "which I deſire may be communicated to them; "the firſt is, that they gather down unto the "immortal ſeed and word of life in themſelves, "and be exerciſed in it before the Lord; and "duly prize, and ſet a right value upon the "many outward and inward bleſſings that the "Lord has eminently beſtowed upon them "ſince the morning of the day of his bleſſed "viſitation; then ſhall they grow and be pre-"ſerved in a living freſhneſs to him, and the "Lord will continue his mercies to them, "and they ſhall not want his divine refreſh-"ing preſence in their meetings together before "him.

"The ſecond thing is this, that thoſe friends "to whom the Lord hath given great eſtates "ought to caſt their bread upon the waters, "and do good therewith in their life-time;

"for

" for thoſe that are enjoyers of ſuch things CHAP.
" ſhould ſee that they be good ſtewards thereof. X.
" Oh, the many poor families ſuch perſons
" might be an help to! How eaſily might they 1698.
" with a little aſſiſt many a family to live in the
" world! and what a comfort would it be for ſuch
" to ſee the fruits of their charity in their life-
" time?" Some of his laſt words were theſe,
" That he had not handled the word of the
" Lord deceitfully, nor done the work negli-
" gently; earneſtly deſiring friends might live
" in love, and keep in the unity of the ſpirit,
" which is the bond of peace."

As his laſt moments approached he cloſed his eyes with his own hand, with compoſure of mind, as one from whom the ſting of death was taken away, and reſigned his ſoul to God who gave it, the 15th of the 9th month 1698, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age.

Although by his profeſſion, which was in the medical line, as an apothecary and chymiſt, it muſt be preſumed he had acquired a greater ſhare of literature than many of his brethren; yet in his miniſtring he affected no ſhew of learning in the uſe of high ſounding words, nor laboured for elegance of expreſſion, nor leaned upon memory or former openings, but waited to feel the freſh opening of heavenly power, and the animating influence of divine virtue to carry him forth in his miniſterial exerciſes, in which his demeanour was grave and reverent, miniſtry in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God, his miniſtry was truly edifying and effectual to the refreſhment of his friends, and to the converting of many to, and confirmation

CHAP. X. 1698.

confirmation of many in pure religion and righteouſneſs.

He was ſkilful to divide the word aright in plain dealing and cloſe reproof to ſuch as in life and converſation were inconſiſtent with their profeſſion, and diſhonoured it by a practice contrary thereto; but very tender, ſympathizing and encouraging to the well-minded in all their religious exerciſes.

His zeal for the eſtabliſhing and keeping up a ſalutary diſcipline againſt much oppoſition hath been already related; and as he was a man of great meekneſs and great charity, a lover of the brethren and a promoter of peace in the church, ſo he was exceedingly zealous againſt the attempts to rend and divide the body, prevalent in his time, never ſparing to reprove their obſtinacy, detect their deceitfulneſs, and bear a faithful teſtimony againſt their contentious ſpirit. His life and converſation gave efficacy to his miniſtry and to his religious labours, his practice was agreeable to his doctrine, and he was himſelf a living example of that virtuous and moral conduct to which he was concerned to admoniſh his friends, feeling for, ſympathizing with, and full of compaſſion to the poor, he failed not to be their advocate with the opulent as well in the different parts of his life, as in his latter end, reminding them at their plentiful tables of the neceſſitous, and recommending ſelf-denial, hoſpitality and liberality rather than high living; and alſo was remarkably exemplary in the practice of that charity which he recommended in the line of his buſineſs, freely ſupplying the ſick of this claſs with advice and with medicine, the hungry

hungry with food, and the naked with raiment, according to his ability. CHAP. X.

His natural temper was lively and cheerful, but his religion tempered it with innocence and meekneſs; he kept his paſſions in ſuch ſubjection that he bore ill-treatment and injuries without reſentment, or ruffling the ſerenity of his mind; he loved, practiſed and promoted peace, and exerted his endeavours to reconcile ſuch of his friends or others as were in any reſpect at variance; unity and concord amongſt brethren being his delight. 1698.

He was an affectionate huſband, a tender and vigilant guardian to his children, by counſel and by example training them up in the way they ſhould go, a kind maſter, a faithful friend and a reſpectable and ſerviceable member of religious and civil ſociety; being accounted worthy of double honour amongſt his friends, and obtaining a good report among his acquaintance and in his neighbourhood for innocence, honeſty and integrity of life.

In this year John Crook departed this life; he was a man of literature, of a good eſtate and rank in life, and in the commiſſion of the peace for Bedfordſhire, where he lived: He was early convinced by the miniſtry of William Dewſbury in 1654, about the 37th year of his age, ſoon afer which his commiſſion was taken away. Through faithfulneſs to the truth, of which he was convinced, he became deeply experienced in the work of ſanctification, and in the myſteries of the kingdom of Heaven; whereby he was made an able miniſter of the goſpel, being reputed by his cotemporaries like Apollos, an eloquent man and mighty in the ſcriptures, 1699. Account of John Crook.

CHAP. X. 1699.

which he highly eſteemed, and had an excellent gift in opening the myſteries thereof; and was careful to adorn his miniſtry by a circumſpect converſation coupled with the fear of the Lord.

While the ſtate of his health admitted, he travelled for the edifying his friends in different parts of the nation, but moſtly in Bedfordſhire and counties adjacent, and was inſtrumental to the convincement of many of the truth which he had to deliver, but in his latter years being diſabled from travelling far by a complication of painful maladies, he reſided at Hertford, and ſpent much of his time in that town and county.

His ſufferings.

We have already ſeen by the account of his trial at the Old Bailey in 1662, that he, as well as many others of his friends, was a deep ſufferer for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and it was not upon that occaſion only that he felt the ſeverity of unmerited perſecution. On the 12th or 13th of the 11th month, commonly called January, 1660, O. S. being on his travels in Huntingdonſhire, where two friends, Robert Ingram and John Parnel, having been taken from their own houſes by a party of horſe, and by the commiſſioners at Huntingdon committed to priſon, were viſited by ſome of their friends, when a party of Horſe ſurrounded the jail, crying out, *a meeting, a meeting*! and thoſe who came to viſit the priſoners were impriſoned with them; but the day following they were diſcharged by the magiſtrates, who releaſed them only in hopes of finding a more legal pretence for impriſoning them, ſaying, *we ſhall ſoon have them again*; for they had heard of a meeting

meeting appointed at Sotho the next day. Accordingly ſome armed men on horſeback were ſent thither, who apprehended ſeveral friends, and amongſt them John Crook, who being carried before the juſtices, and refuſing to take the oaths, were ſent priſoners to Huntingdon. At the aſſizes in the 1ſt month called March, moſt of the priſoners were ſet at liberty by judge Hale, but John Crook and Robert Ingram, with Benjamin Thornby, were detained until the enſuing aſſizes, they being cauſeleſly repreſented as ringleaders, and more dangerous than the reſt. John Parnel was diſcharged as to the oath; but by an action laid againſt him for ſmall tithes, was detained five years longer in priſon, at the ſuit of John Heath, prieſt of Hemmington-abbott. CHAP. X. 1699.

John Crook had enjoyed his liberation from this impriſonment but a ſhort time 'till he was impriſoned again at Ayleſbury. On the 1ſt of September having appointed a meeting at Culverton near Stony-ſtratford, ſix or ſeven ſoldiers entered with piſtols, and being accompanied with two conſtables, they ordered them to take out the principal men; but the conſtables refuſed, alledging *they knew them not*, at which the ſoldiers expreſſed their reſentment, and took away eight perſons, amongſt whom was John Crook, and carried them before the deputy lieutenant of the county, who requiring ſureties, which they refuſed to give, he with much difficulty and perplexity, after ſome hours puzzling, framed a mittimus, and ſent them to Ayleſbury jail, where John Crook was detained upwards of three months, as appears by an epiſtle

CHAP. X. to his friends dated from thence, and how much longer I find no certain account.

1699. His indiſpoſition growing upon him with his advancing years, eſpecially the ſtone, proved a ſevere trial of his patience; and although he had long ſuffered much pain under this and his other diſorders, ſo that he might ſay with Iſrael, Pſalm 129, *I have been afflicted from my youth*; yet his patience through divine ſupport was remarkable under all his afflictions to the laſt; under the feeling ſenſe whereof he frequently acknowledged, *that if he did not feel and witneſs an inward power from the Lord, he could not ſubſiſt under his violent pain.* And, *that the furnace of affliction was of good uſe, to purge away the droſs and earthly part in us.* In all the ſeverity of his pain he was never known to utter an unſavoury expreſſion or impatiently to cry out. And when the extremity of his fits was over, he would thankfully expreſs the inward joy and peace of mind which he enjoyed: Beſide the bodily affliction with which he was tried, he was not exempt from trials of another kind, in obſerving the deviation of ſome of his offspring from the ways of righteouſneſs, under his ſorrow on which account, he would ſometimes ſolace himſelf with the words of David; *although my houſe be not ſo with God, yet he hath made with me an everlaſting covenant ordered in all things and ſure.* In his old age he could remark that many of the ancients are gone to their long home, and we are making haſte after them; *they ſtep away before me, and I, that would go, cannot; well! it will ſoon be my turn alſo.*

Yet in the intermiſſions of his diſtemper he appeared frequently ſo ſtrong and lively in the ſpiritual

ſpiritual warfare, in his advanced age, that many were ready to think he might properly adopt the language of Caleb, "As yet I am as ſtrong "this day, as I was in the day that Moſes "ſent me; as my ſtrength was then, even ſo "is my ſtrength now for war, both to go out "and come in." He continued in a ſolid and chriſtian frame of mind to the laſt period of his life, which was terminated the 26th of 2d month O. S. commonly called April, in the 82d year of his age, at his houſe at Hertford. CHAP. X. 1699.

He left behind in writing, an epiſtle of weighty counſel to his children and grand-children, written ſcarce two months before his death, as followeth:

"Dear Children,

"I muſt leave you in a wicked age, but com- "mend you to the meaſure of the grace of God "in your inward parts, which you have receiv- "ed by Jeſus Chriſt; and as you love it, and "mind the teachings of it, you will find it a "counſellor to inſtruct you in the way everlaſt- "ing, and preſerve you out of the ways of the "ungodly. His advice to his children and grand children.

"I have ſeen much in my days, and I always "obſerved, that the fear of the Lord God prov- "ed the beſt portion, and thoſe that walked in "it were the only happy people, both in this "life (while they continued faithful) and when "they come to die, though they meet with "many hardſhips in their paſſage. By experi- "ence I can ſpeak it, that the ways of holineſs "afford more true comfort and peace to the "upright ſoul, than the greateſt pleaſures this "world can afford; the former reaches the

"heart

CHAP. X. 1699.

" heart and ſoul, while the delights of this " world are but a ſhew, and appearance only, " vaniſhing like a dream; and whoever believes " otherwiſe of them, will certainly find them " to be but lying vanities; therefore the apoſtle, " *Rom.* vi. 21. might boldly put the queſtion to " the converted Romans, viz. *What fruit had " you then in thoſe things whereof you are now " aſhamed? for the end of thoſe things is death.*

" Therefore, dear children, be in love with " holineſs; make it your companion, and thoſe " that walk in it; you may find buddings of it, " from an holy ſeed in your hearts; as you " mind the inner man, the light will manifeſt " the ſtirrings of it after God, which I felt from " my tender years; although I underſtood them " not ſo plainly, till I heard the truth de- " clared.

" I adviſe you to keep a pure conſcience, both " towards God and man; for if that be de- " filed, hypocriſy and formality will deprive you " of all comfortable feeling of God's preſence; " and then deadneſs and dryneſs will be your " miſerable portion.

" Be careful how you ſpend your precious " time, for an account muſt be given of every " idle word, though but few regard it; but " fooliſh jeſting, and vain talking, are ſaid to " grieve the ſpirit of God; read *Eph.* iv. 29, " 30. But improve your time in prayer, and " religious exerciſes, &c. and be diligent in " your lawful callings; for *the deſire of the " ſlothful man killeth him*, Prov. xxi. 25.

" Be careful what company you frequent; " for a man is commonly known by the com- " pany he keeps, as much as by any one out- " ward

" ward thing; and of your behaviour in com- CHAP.
" pany; for I have found that a wiſe and ſober X.
" deportment adds much to a man's reputation
" and credit in the world. 1699.

" Watch to the light, and its diſcoveries of
" good and evil, that you may not be igno-
" rant of Satan's devices; ſo the net will be
" ſpread in vain in the ſight of the bird;
" for watchfulneſs will make you in love with a
" retired eſtate; and the more truly and per-
" fectly any man knows and underſtands him-
" ſelf, the better diſcerning will ſuch have of
" other men; as in the beginning, when deep
" ſilence of all fleſh was more in uſe, the ſpirit
" of diſcerning was more common and quicker
" than ſince it hath been neglected; therefore
" be ſure you ſpend ſome time (at convenient
" ſeaſons) in waiting upon God in ſilence, though
" it be diſpleaſing to fleſh; for I have had more
" comfort and confirmation in the truth, in my
" inward retiring in ſilence, than from all
" words I have heard from others, though I have
" often been refreſhed by them alſo.

" Love the holy ſcriptures, preferring them
" to all other books whatſoever; and be care-
" ful to read them with an holy awe upon your
" ſpirits, leſt your imaginations put conſtruc-
" tions upon them to your hurt; but exerciſe
" faith in the promiſe of Chriſt, who hath ſaid,
" *my ſpirit ſhall take of mine, and ſhew them*
" *unto you.*

" Keep conſtantly to religious meetings a-
" mongſt friends; but look to your affections,
" that you reſpect not perſons, but the power
" and life of truth, from whomſoever it comes;

" not

CHAP. X. 1699.

" not minding the tickling of your affections,
" but the demonſtration of the truth to your
" underſtandings and conſciences; for that will
" abide, when flaſhes of affections will fade
" and come to nothing, after the words are
" ended.

" Love one another truly, manifeſting your
" love by good counſel, and being helpful to
" each other upon all occaſions; being good
" examples to all you converſe with, eſpecially
" to your children, and thoſe of your own fa-
" milies, that pride and vanity may not be
" countenanced by you, but rather reproved;
" remembering, while they are under your go-
" vernment, you muſt give an account of the
" diſcharge of your duty to God towards
" them.

" Laſtly, be always mindful of your latter
" end, and live as you would die, not knowing
" how ſoon your days may be finiſhed in this
" world: and while you do live in it, deſpiſe
" not the chaſtenings of the Lord, whatever
" they be, he is pleaſed to viſit you withal. I
" have been afflicted from my youth up, both
" inwardly and outwardly, but the God whom
" I ſerved provided for me, when all my out-
" ward relations forſook me, none of them giv-
" ing me any portion to begin the world
" withal. This I ſpeak, to let you know, I
" ſhall leave more outwardly, even to the leaſt
" of you, than was left me by all my relations,
" &c. I need not mention this ſharp affliction
" (beyond expreſſion) in my old age, becauſe,
" in ſome meaſure, you know it; but I could
" not have been without it, as the Lord hath

" ſhewed

" ſhewed me, for I have ſeen his wonders in CHAP.
" the deeps: therefore I ſay again, deſpiſe not X.
" afflictions, but embrace them as meſſengers
" of peace to your ſouls (though diſpleaſing to 1699.
" the fleſh.)

" Theſe things I commend unto you, out of
" true love to your ſouls, knowing how the
" vain mind of man little regards ſuch advice
" as this I leave behind me: but by this advice
" I ſhew my true love to you all, deſiring God's
" bleſſing upon it, to whom I commit you all,
" my dear children, and end my days.

" Your loving father and grandfather.

JOHN CROOK.

Hertford, the firſt of the
1ſt month, 1698-99.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Further Account of George Keith.—Biſhop Burnet's Account of him.—Remarks thereupon.—King James dies, and his Son acknowledged King of England by the French King.—Addreſs of the People called Quakers to King William.—A forged Addreſs publiſhed.—Detected by the Publication of the real one—King William's Death.

CHAP. XI.

1700. Further account of G. Keith.

GEORGE KEITH, who for ſome time paſt had been endeavouring to ingratiate himſelf with the epiſcopal clergy, as the moſt likely means of getting a ſupport, had ſucceeded in his views ſo far by his vilifying of the Quakers, and raiſing expectations of the ſervice he could be of by his influence, in bringing over many of that people to the eſtabliſhed church, that about this time he was ordained a prieſt by the biſhop of London, and was employed for the preſent as a curate. This furniſhed an occaſion for an anonymous publication under the title of *Mr. George Keith's Account of a national Church and Clergy, humbly preſented to the Biſhop of London*, being a ſelection from his former works, in which he had treated of the national church, its clergy, rites and ceremonies, to which were added ſome queries he had formerly written concerning that termed the *Sacrament of the Lord's*

Lord's Supper, concluding with theſe words of the apoſtle, "if I build again the things which "I deſtroyed, I make myſelf a tranſgreſſor."

1700. That the epiſcopalians, even thoſe called dignitaries of the church, entertained great hopes at this time of the ſervice that this new convert might be of in bringing many others to their community, appears from the following extract from biſhop Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 144, 1700.

Biſhop Burnet's account of G. Keith.

"The Quakers have had a great breach made "among them by one George Keith a ſcotch-"man, with whom I had my education at Aber-"deen, he had been thirty-ſix years among "them; he was eſteemed the moſt learned man "that ever was in that ſect; he was well verſed "both in the oriental tongues, in philoſophy "and mathematicks; after he had been above "thirty years in high eſteem among them, he "was ſent to Penſylvania, (a colony ſet up by "Penn where they are very numerous) to have "the chief direction of the education of their "youth. In thoſe parts, he ſaid, he firſt diſco-"vered that, which had been always denied to "him, or ſo diſguiſed that he did not ſuſpect "it; but being far out of reach, and in a "place where they were maſters, they ſpoke "out their mind plainer, and it appeared to "him that they were Deiſts, and that they turned "the whole doctrine of the chriſtian religion "into allegories; chiefly thoſe which relate to "the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, and the "reconciliation of ſinners to God by virtue of "his croſs; he being a true chriſtian, ſet him-"ſelf with great zeal againſt this, upon which "they grew weary of him, and ſent him back to "England.

CHAP. XI. 1700.

"England. At his return he ſet himſelf to "read many of their books, and then he diſ- "covered the myſtery, which was ſo hid from "him that he had not obſerved it: Upon this "he opened a new meeting, and by a printed "ſummons he called the whole party to come "and ſee the proof that he had to offer, to con- "vince them of theſe errors: Few Quakers "came to his meetings, but great multitudes "of other people flocked about him; he "brought the Quakers books with him, and "read ſuch paſſages out of them as convinced "his hearers that he had not charged them "falſely; he continued theſe meetings, being "ſtill in outward appearance a Quaker for "ſome years, till having prevailed as far as "he ſaw any probability of ſucceſs, he laid aſide "their exterior, *and was reconciled to the church, "and is now in holy orders among us, and likely "to do good ſervice in undeceiving and reclaiming "ſome of thoſe miſled enthuſiaſts.*"

Remarks thereupon.

I think this not the only inſtance, wherein this prelate hath given occaſion to the obſerva- tion, that he expreſſeth himſelf in a manner very dogmatical, in caſes wherein he is not well informed. That George Keith was thirty-ſix years among the Quakers—that he was *ſent* to Penſylvania—that he was ſent back by them—are facts plainly miſtated. He was by his own account about twenty-eight years amongſt them when he firſt began his open diſſent—he re- moved to Penſylvania of his own accord, to evade the perſecution he was expoſed to here—he returned unſent, and unſent for, to complain to the yearly meeting, &c. Theſe miſtakes (though of no great conſequence) diſcover the

the looſe and negligent manner in which Burnet took up and ſtated matters of fact. The more important objections to the biſhop's narrative of this difference having already engaged the attention of our friend Alexander Arſcott, in an appendix to his *Serious Conſiderations*, &c. his remarks thereupon anticipate the neceſſity of my making many others, being as follow: CHAP. XI. 1700.

" The only foundation of this ſtory, ſo far " as concerns the Quakers, was George Keith's " bare relation of it; for it is introduced with " theſe words, viz. In thoſe parts, he ſaid, he " firſt diſcovered, &c. It does not appear that " the biſhop either read or heard what the peo- " ple called Quakers had to ſay for themſelves: " and yet as if he certainly knew that George " Keith was perfectly right, and theſe people " altogether wrong, he pronounces judgment " upon an hearing only *ex parte*; a method of " proceeding utterly inconſiſtent with the duty " of a fair hiſtorian; and which he himſelf, " no doubt, were he living, would loudly ex- " claim againſt, if it concerned himſelf, or any " people whom he was diſpoſed to favour, or " even to do juſtice to.

" It is well known, that the difference be- " tween George Keith and his friends in Pen- " ſylvania, was, upon an appeal of his from " thence, ſolemnly heard and debated for many " days by the yearly-meeting in London, 1695, " and at laſt determined in a moderate * cen- ſure

* Which cenſure was in the following words, viz. " That the ſaid George Keith hath of late been, and yet is,

CHAP. XI. 1700.

" ſure upon him; and it cannot be ſuppoſed " but that the meeting had ſome reaſons for " ſuch

" is, acted by an unchriſtian ſpirit, which hath moved " and led him to ſtir up contention and ſtrife in the " church of Chriſt, and to cauſe diviſions, ſeparations " and breaches among them that profeſs the truth: and " that the tendency of divers of his late writings and " actings hath been to expoſe the truth and the friends " thereof to the reproach of the world, did unanimouſly " agree, and declare it to be the ſenſe and judgment " of this meeting: and it is the ſenſe and judgment of " this meeting, that the ſaid George Keith is gone from " the bleſſed unity of the peaceable ſpirit of our Lord " Jeſus Chriſt, and hath thereby ſeparated himſelf from " the holy fellowſhip of the church of Chriſt, and that " whilſt he is in an unreconciled and uncharitable ſtate, " he ought not to preach or pray in any of friends' meet- " ings, nor be owned or received as one of us, until by a " public and hearty acknowledgment of the great offence " he has given, and hurt he hath done, and condem- " nation of himſelf therefore, he gives proofs of his un- " feigned repentance, and does his endeavour to re- " move and take off the reproach he hath brought upon " truth and friends, which in the love of God we heartily " deſire for his ſoul's ſake."

From which cenſure, it is evident, that George Keith was not (as the defender of the biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry erroneouſly aſſerts, p. 98.) " excommuni- " cated by the Quakers, for maintaining the neceſſity of " believing in an outward Chriſt in order to ſalvation." Nor does there appear in the whole cenſure againſt, or

preceedings

" ſuch a proceeding. And it is as well " known, that afterwards, though our friends " did not attend his peremptory ſummons, " (chiefly with regard to the peace and good " order of thoſe cities and places where he " was pleaſed to mount the ſtage) yet they " followed him cloſely from the preſs: and " as all theſe tranſactions were public to " the world, the biſhop ought either to have " ſaid nothing about them, or more than " he has ſaid; either have paſſed the whole " over in ſilence, or have given an impar-

proceedings relating to him, the leaſt footſtep of any charge of that nature. He was diſowned for his unchriſtian and uncharitable actions, and for the reproach he had brought upon truth and friends, by his ſlanders and lying accuſations, and particularly, as it is expreſſed in one part of the proceedings, " His inſinuating as if friends " only owned the blood of Chriſt in a myſtical ſenſe." No wonder then, if Keith, being ejected by the Quakers, for his falſhood and abuſes of them, did, as evil men and ſeducers uſed to do, wax worſe and worſe, kept on the exterior of the Quakers, as a decoy to draw others after him, ſo long as he ſaw any probability of ſucceſs, or outward ſupport; which at length failing, he thought meet to be reconciled to a church, qualified to gratify her new convert with preſent and conſtant pay, which yet, in his caſe, was not the reward of righteouſneſs.

rial

CHAP. XI. 1700.

" tial ſummary view of the controverſy on both " ſides.

" But ſeeing he has been pleaſed to be ſilent " on one ſide, and condemn us as a company " of miſled enthuſiaſts, with his uſual air of " contempt, that his readers may not think our " friends had nothing to ſay in defence of them- " ſelves and doctrines; they are referred to " what was written about that time by our elder " friends, G. Whitehead, T. Ellwood, B. Coole, " R. Claridge, D. Philips, and J. Wyeth.

" But we are told, that it appeared to him, " (George Keith) that they (the Quakers) were " Deiſts, and that they turned the whole doc- " trines of the Chriſtian religion into allego- " ries.

" To the firſt, that they were Deiſts: I ſay he " is inconſiſtent with himſelf, for he calls them " afterwards enthuſiaſts. Deiſm and enthuſiaſm " are as oppoſite as the two poles. The one " denies all revelation; and the other believes " and contends for it to an exceſs. But to " come more cloſely to the point, Deiſm, in the " modern uſe of that word, is the belief and " profeſſion of natural religion, in oppoſition to " revelation of all kinds. Chriſtianity, in the " ſenſe of the people called Quakers, is the be- " lief and profeſſion of revealed religion, re- " vealed externally in the holy ſcriptures, and " internally by the ſpirit of Chriſt in the ſecret " of our hearts: by the firſt we come to the " knowledge of the facts, doctrines and precepts " of the chriſtian religion; by the laſt we are " enlightened and aſſiſted to underſtand, apply " and practice them, for the great ends for

" which

" which they were delivered to the world: ſo CHAP.
" that religion, in the ſenſe of the Deiſts, hath XI.
" nothing to do with revelation; in the Quaker's
" ſenſe, it is all revelation, either external or in- 1700.
" ternal: a plain contradiction then between
" the one and the other, and conſequently they
" cannot be the ſame, nor be predicated of the
" ſame perſon or people. The Quakers there-
" fore cannot be eſteemed Deiſts, which charge
" is ſo far from being true, that upon their prin-
" ciples only, the very root of Deiſm is de-
" ſtroyed, as I have already obſerved.

" Again we are told, that it appeared to him,
" George Keith, that the Quakers turned the
" whole doctrines of the chriſtian religion into
" allegories.

" *Anſwer.* I can name many of the doctrines
" of the chriſtian religion which they never
" turned into allegories, but have been great
" ſufferers for adhering to them in a literal
" ſenſe, as is well known; ſo that this charge,
" in the extent of it, is falſe. But it is not
" denied, that the Quakers writ of ſome of the
" doctrines of the chriſtian religion in an alle-
" gorical ſtile, and ſo did the apoſtles, even
" thoſe very doctrines he there mentions, which
" relate to the death and reſurrection of Chriſt,
" and the reconciliation of ſinners to God by
" virtue of his croſs, as may eaſily be made
" appear by many inſtances. And the beſt
" chriſtians in all ages have done the ſame, as is
" acknowledged by the biſhop of London in his
" Paſtoral Letter before cited. But neither thoſe
" nor the Quakers did ſo turn theſe doctrines
" into allegories, as to deſtroy their proper
" meanings, or the reality of thoſe facts, which

CHAP. XI. 1700.

" are always ſuppoſed, and taken as a real " foundation for the allegory, and ſo profeſſed " and believed by that people.

" Thoſe who have read the writings of our " friends with an honeſt diſpoſition to be truly " informed of their real ſentiments, and who " have converſed with them candidly with the " ſame deſign, have found the truth of this. " Among whom the learned and pious Dr. " Henry More was an eminent inſtance; who, " though at firſt he thought the Quakers carried " their allegorical way of writing too far, yet " upon better information from reading and " converſation with ſome of them, became very " much changed into another mind, as hath " been fully ſhewn in a late pamphlet, intitled, " A vindication of the Quakers, or an Anſwer " to the Biſhop of L———'s charge againſt " them, and a late defence of that charge; to " which is added, a more full and perfect ac- " count of the Quakers and their doctrines, " occaſioned by Dr. Henry More's opinion of " them; containing extracts of ſeveral letters of " the doctor to William Penn and others, to " which the reader is referred; and more largely " to the letters themſelves, and other paſſages, " in his life and works.

" There is alſo good reaſon to ſuppoſe that " Dr. Burnet had changed his ſentiments of the " Quakers, when it is well known, that he long " ſince publiſhed to the world an excellent ſyſ- " tem of ſpiritual religion, altogether agreeable " to their principles, intitled, The Life of God " in the Soul of Man, or the nature and ex- " cellency of the Chriſtian Religion, with the " method of obtaining the happineſs which it " propoſes:

" propoſes: alſo an account of the beginning and advances of a ſpiritual life: with a preface by Gilbert Burnet. Wherein he very ſtrongly and pathetically recommends that performance, the deſign of which is to explain the nature and properties of true religion, which the author calls, p. 4. An union of the ſoul with God, a real participation of the divine nature, the very image of God drawn upon the ſoul, or, in the apoſtle's phraſe, it is Chriſt formed in us. Briefly, I know not how the nature of religion can be better expreſſed, than by calling it a divine life. The very terms in which the Quakers often expreſs themſelves on the ſame ſubject. And therefore as the biſhop has ſo fully recommended that work to the public, however he might be miſled by wrong repreſentations of their doctrines, he could not be an enemy to the principles of the Quakers rightly underſtood. The whole of that piece is penned with that true ſpirit of religion and piety, that I gladly take this opportunity to recommend the peruſal of it to all ſerious Chriſtians of all denominations.

CHAP. XI. 1706.

" But to return to George Keith. The biſhop has told us, after a long detail of his performances, *that he is now*, in the year 1700, *in holy orders among us, and likely to do good ſervice in undeceiving and reclaiming ſome of thoſe miſled enthuſiaſts.* But what if it ſhould appear after all, that he deeply repented of what he had done? I ſhall relate what has come to my knowledge, and leave the reader to judge of the truth of it. The fact as related is this: That one Richard Hayler of

CHAP. XI. 1700.

" Suſſex made a viſit to George Keith on his
" death-bed, which viſit was kindly taken by
" him; and among other things that paſſed,
" George Keith expreſſed himſelf in theſe words,
" viz. *I wiſh I had died when I was a* Quaker,
" *for then I am ſure it would have been well*
" *with my ſoul.* This I have from a perſon now
" living, of unqueſtioned reputation, who had
" it from the widow of the ſaid Richard Hayler,
" and her ſiſter, both ſince deceaſed, but per-
" ſons of unblemiſhed characters. I ſhall make
" no comment upon the expreſſion, but only
" remark, that it ſtands on as good ground of
" credibility as many thouſand matters of fact
" that are readily believed without any heſita-
" tion, and is altogether as well, what if I ſay,
" better atteſted, than the biſhop's partial rela-
" tion of this whole affair, and ſome other facts
" in his hiſtory, wherein the characters of all
" ranks of people, living and dead, are treat-
" ed with an uncommon freedom. I hope,
" therefore, I may be excuſed in this one in-
" ſtance, at a time when George Keith's per-
" formances againſt the Quakers are ſo much
" magnified by the biſhop of L——'s de-
" fender, as well as Dr. Burnet, in letting the
" world know, that there is reaſon to believe,
" that this conduct of George Keith, at laſt be-
" came his burthen, and that he himſelf did
" not approve of it: the conſideration of it, I
" confeſs, gives me ſome ſecret pleaſure, in
" hopes, that he that gave him this ſight,
" might give him alſo the grace of repent-
" ance."

To

To which I may add, that it appears to me an inſtance of great weakneſs or great prejudice for any man to ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon ſo far, as to receive, and record ſo great an improbability, as that a man could be for the ſpace of twenty-eight years in intimate ſociety with ſo large a body of people, and never during that time diſcover their real principles; or that all the members of that ſociety either would or could artfully conceal or diſguiſe their real ſentiments from a member who was no novice, but one eſteemed by them as a faithful and ſerviceable member of the ſame ſociety, and of the ſame ſentiments with themſelves.

But that he firſt diſcovered in America any pretended errors of this people, which he had not the like opportunity of diſcovering, or which he did not diſcover long before his removal, and approve and maintain too, is not only improbable, but really untrue.

The matter of controverſy between George Keith and friends in America appears clearly to be this, whether the knowledge and belief of the hiſtory of Chriſt's life, death, ſufferings, reſurrection and aſcenſion be neceſſary to ſalvation, to thoſe who have no opportunity or poſſibility of coming to the knowledge thereof. Now he could not be ignorant that the people called Quakers had always taken the negative ſide of the queſtion, as eſteeming it incompatible with divine juſtice to condemn a great part of mankind for the mere ignorance of that, which they had no means of attaining the knowledge of. We have ſeen George Keith join Robert Barclay in his diſpute with the ſtudents of Aberdeen, in defence of his Theſes, the ſixth

of

CHAP. XI. 1700.

of which is particular upon the ſubject; neither was he unacquainted with his more explicit arguments thereupon in his apology. "But further George Keith himſelf in his former writings maintained the ſame doctrine*, having declared it as his ſentiment, that thoſe men who had not the matter of Chriſt's outward birth, death, reſurrection and aſcenſion revealed or made known to them; yet living faithful to what by his light and holy ſpirit was manifeſted to them, ſhould be ſaved, though they died in that ſtate, and that the contrary doctrine was uncharitable, and argued thus upon it; "Why may not the benefit of Chriſt's "taking upon him the form of man redound "unto many who do not expreſsly know it, even "as a diſeaſed perſon may receive benefit of a "cure applied to him, though he have not an "expreſs knowledge of all the means and "ways, how, from firſt to laſt, it hath been "prepared."

This being the original ſubject of George Keith's open diſſent, it is evident, it was not in America he firſt diſcovered it to be the doctrine of the Quakers, he being well acquainted with it, and having adopted it in England long before, where it was openly profeſſed and vindicated, and never, as far as I have heard or known, denied or diſguiſed, in the leaſt, by any under that name, till he denied it, in contradiction of his former avowed ſentiments, both in his public preaching and private diſcourſes; and when it was urged againſt him how hard it would be

* S. Smith.

* See his book, entitled *The Rector corrected.*

upon

upon honeſt Gentiles, who, though they ſteered ever ſo exactly by the law written in the heart, muſt notwithſtanding for want of that knowledge they had no means of attaining, periſh without remedy; he would recur to his capricious notion of tranſmigration, and anſwer, they could not periſh, though they ſhould die in that ſtate; but would have an opportunity to hear the goſpel preached, and of being ſaved thereby in ſome future revolution*. I wonder what tenet of the Quakers he could tax with heterodoxy or abſurdity equal to this. CHAP. XI. 1700.

This year put a period to the life of king James, who died at the palace of Germains in France the 17th September, and upon his death his ſon, by order of the French king, was proclaimed king of the Britiſh dominions. Death of king James; his ſon proclaimed king of England by the French king.

As the parliament had juſt ſettled the ſucceſſion to the crown, in Sophia, electreſs of Hanover, and her heirs, in caſe of the death of king William and the princeſs of Denmark without iſſue, this interference of a foreign prince, to aſſign another king to England than they choſe for themſelves, rouſed the general indignation of the people. Addreſſes were ſent up from all quarters expreſſive of gratitude for the revolution, and loyalty to the king and the

* Samuel Smith, from whoſe manuſcript principally I have extracted the narrative of George Keith's proceedings in America, informs us that the ſubſtance of the whole is taken from the memorials of Caleb Puſey, a man of undiſputed veracity, an intimate friend of George Keith, before he left the ſociety, and concerned in oppoſing him afterwards; who wrote theſe memoirs of tranſactions, in which he was perſonally engaged.

houſe

CHAP. XI. 1701.

houſe of Hanover. Upon this occaſion the people called Quakers alſo, who had heretofore chiefly complaints of grievances to lay before their rulers, from moſt of which they were effectually delivered by the preſent ſovereign, thought themſelves called upon in point of duty and gratitude to wait upon him ſoon after his return from Holland with the following addreſs, which was preſented by George Whitehead, William Mead and Francis Camfield, viz.

Addreſs to king William.

"To King WILLIAM III. over England, &c.

"An Addreſs from the People commonly called "Quakers, humbly preſented.

"May it pleaſe the King,

"We thy dutiful ſubjects ſincerely expreſs "our joy for thy ſafe return to thy people, having "great cauſe to love, honour and pray for "thee, as a prince whom we believe God hath "promoted and principled for the good ends "of government, under whoſe reign we enjoy "great mercies and favours, and particularly "that of liberty to tender conſciences in religious worſhip, as a proper expedient to unite "thy proteſtant ſubjects in intereſt and affection.

"For which great mercy we cannot but be "humbly thankful to God, and renew our "grateful acknowledgment to the king, whom "God by his almighty power hath eminently "preſerved, and made exemplary in prudence

"as

" as well as goodneſs to other kings and prin- CHAP.
" ces, whereby thy memorial will be renowned XI.
" to poſterity.

" We are alſo engaged to bleſs the Lord, for that 1701.
" he hath manifeſtly fruſtrated the miſchievous
" and treacherous deſigns of thine and the
" nation's adverſaries, both againſt the lawful
" eſtabliſhment of thy throne, and the true in-
" tereſt of thy proteſtant ſubjects.

" And we beſeech almighty God to bleſs the
" good deſigns and juſt undertakings of the
" king and his great council, for the good of
" his people, and for obtaining to Europe a firm
" and laſting peace; and continue thee, O king,
" a bleſſing to theſe nations, eſtabliſh thy throne
" in mercy and truth, give to thee a long and
" proſperous reign over us, and hereafter a glo-
" rious immortality, is, and ſhall be the fer-
" vent prayer of us, thy true and faithful ſub-
" jects.

" Signed in behalf and by appointment of the
" aforeſaid People, at a meeting in London, the
" 8th month, 1701."

This addreſs was favourably received by the king, who, in anſwer, replied, " I have protected you, " and ſhall protect you ;" and repairing to his cloſet he perúſed the ſaid addreſs over again, and it was underſtood that he expreſſed his particular approbation thereof. [a] But it being ſome days before it made its appearance in the Gazette, A forged addreſs publiſhed. ſome news-writers in the intermediate time (as had been done in the beginning of king James's

[a] Sewel.

reign)

CHAP. XI. 1701.

reign) fabricated a very ridiculous piece, purporting to be the addreſs of the people called Quakers to the king, in which the expreſſions are repreſented to be ſo blunt and unmannerly, as beſpoke audacity and inſolence, rather than the honeſt ſimplicity of the Quaker; and in which the fabricator might probably gratify his ſpleen againſt the Quakers and his ſovereign together; but the real addreſs being ſoon after publiſhed detected the forgery.

1702. King William's death.

King William's health had been ſome time on the decline, and a fall from his horſe haſtened his diſſolution. He departed this life at Kenſington the 8th day of the month called March 1702, in the 52d year of his age; leaving deep impreſſions of gratitude to his memory in the minds of many of his ſubjects, who were ſenſible of his important ſervices and the benefits thereof, in reſcuing them from the impending danger of a popiſh government, and ſecuring to them the free and full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty: the diſſenters eſpecially, who conſidered him as their friend and protector for the early and effectual immunities his reign ſecured to them, in exempting them from the penalties of ſundry laws, which, in the reigns of his predeceſſors, had expoſed them to a variety of damage and diſtreſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

IRELAND.

Care of Friends to preſerve their Members from too anxious a purſuit of Riches.—Sentiments of Friends in Ireland in reſpect to the Affirmation.—Their Zeal and Care in ſupporting Diſcipline.—William Penn, Thomas Story and John Everot viſit Ireland.—Meetings largely attended.—John Plympton publiſhes an abuſive Paper.—Complaint againſt him.—Meeting at Caſhell ordered to diſperſe.—William Penn's Conference with the Biſhop thereupon.—The Biſhop writes to the Lords Juſtices.—A Province Viſit performed.—Epiſtle from the Province-meeting at Caſtledermot.

CHAP. XII.

PEACE being reſtored to this nation, plenty and proſperity quickly followed. This fruitful iſland, thinned of its inhabitants by the late war, both by the number who fled for refuge to other countries, and the number who periſhed, afforded thoſe who kept their habitations and ſurvived, who had been deſpoiled of all their property, and had felt all the diſtreſs of penury and ſcarcity during that calamitous time, an opportunity of ſoon emerging from a ſtate of want to plenty, and from poverty to competency and to affluence, even beyond what could be expected

1692.

CHAP. XII. 1693.

pected in the uſual courſe of things. Both agriculture and commerce being in few hands, and the former applied to fertile land, which returned great increaſe with little labour, more than ſufficient for the ſupport of the remaining inhabitants, eſpecially in the fine grazing lands; and the latter employed in the exportation of the ſuperfluity to advantage, ſoon preſented a tempting bait to purſue the accumulation of property with ardour. And now a ſecond generation being riſen and ariſing amongſt this ſociety, who held the profeſſion as the religion of their education, and not by the purchaſe of giving up all for its ſake, as their predeceſſors had done, too many of theſe appeared in danger of being carried away with the ſtream, and of being drawn aſide by the tempting proſpect into an inordinate purſuit of wealth, beyond the limits of a truly religious diſpoſition, and to the obſtruction of their growth in religious experience.

Yet the main body of the ſociety conſiſted of ſome of the old ſtock who ſtill ſurvived, and ſeveral of the preſent generation, who actuated by a ſerious concern for their eternal well-being, ſought it in the way of ſelf denial and the daily croſs, as their elder brethren and fathers had done; and made the religion of their education that of their judgment, and the rule of their conduct in life. Theſe clearly perceiving the injurious conſequences likely to ariſe to the preſent and future generation by indulging this worldly diſpoſition, and the danger of friends and their poſterity reſuming the ſpirit and cuſtoms of this world, from which their fathers had been redeemed, by which means they might be led

Care of friends to preſerve their members from too anxious a purſuit of riches.

led into forgetfulneſs of the eminent care of providence, who had in great mercy preſerved them ſafe through all the late ſeaſons of calamities, on theſe conſiderations were incited in point of duty as faithful watchmen to give timely warning of the danger. Many admonitions and exhortations from their meetings of diſcipline were ſent forth for exciting their friends to vigilance, and to keep within the limits of pure religion in their temporal engagements, and under the guidance of divine grace, which would teach them to deny all ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts. In this pious concern they were encouraged by the conſolation with which they were favoured therein, and endued with wiſdom in directing their meaſures for preventing the progreſs of this worldly ſpirit; ſo that their zealous endeavours were attended with a good effect.

1693.

It was in the year 1693 that an application to the parliament of England, to requeſt their indulgence to the people called Quakers, in accepting their ſolemn affirmation inſtead of an oath, was firſt undertaken to be made by friends of that nation, which when their brethren in Ireland underſtood, they took the brotherly freedom of writing an epiſtle on the ſubject, to the meeting of ſufferings in London, deſiring that Chriſt's own words, *yea* and *nay* might be adhered to, if poſſible, recommending rather to exerciſe patience, and wait God's time, to open a clear and free way for their aſſertion of the truth, than to accept ſuch a form of affirmation, as might bring a ſnare or burden upon any tender conſciences, by appearing in any degree ſimilar to an oath.

Sentiments of friends of Ireland, in reſpect to the affirmation.

And in the year 1695, when the government of England was pleaſed to favour them with an act

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act of parliament, prescribing a form of an affirmation instead of an oath; although it was rather dissatisfactory to many friends in Ireland, by

1695. reason of the sacred name being comprised therein, which they considering as an appeal to the divine Being, thought it bordered too near upon an oath, and were not free to use it. Others less scrupulous, gratefully accepted the favour, conceiving it only in the light of a very solemn affirmation. This difference of judgment however was productive of no schism; but the spirit of christian charity and mutual forbearance appeared conspicuously amongst the members of this society at this time. Those who scrupled the use thereof, not harshly judging those who were free to use it, and these latter sympathising in the difficulty under which the tenderness of their consciences brought others of their brethren, were earnestly disposed to co-operate with them in procuring an universal ease to all the members.

1696. When they met at the next yearly meeting of London, an edifying harmony appeared amongst the friends of both nations, and it was resolved unanimously to solicit government, as soon as providence should open the way, for granting a form of affirmation, which might be easy to all.

As this society became numerous in that nation, the advantage and necessity of a salutary discipline had become obvious, and was immediately adopted by friends there, upon the notice of its being established by their brethren in England, and without any of that opposition, which occasioned so much trouble to their said brethren; the benefits of the religious and brotherly care for each other, during the late war, having been evidently manifested, had confirmed the

Their zeal and care in maintaining the discipline.

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the judgment of friends generally in favour of a zealous exertion of care and endeavours for the preſervation of friends in the uniform practice of piety and virtue, and the cultivation of a pure and religious diſpoſition in their minds, as well as to relieve and help them in their outward circumſtances, which at this time were ſo remarkable, as to gain the commendation of moſt friends, who were engaged in the love of the goſpel to viſit them.

John Gratton, of Moneyaſh, in Derbyſhire, in particular, an able miniſter, viſiting Ireland this year, hath in his journal left the following teſtimony concerning them.

That, "there was great love, peace, and "concord amongſt them, and good order and "government in a careful overſight of the flock, "that friends be careful in all reſpects, to keep "their profeſſion without blame, and particularly "that none run inordinately after the world, "or break in other men's debts."

And friends of Briſtol, in an epiſtle from their men's meeting, expreſs their approbation in the following terms:

"Your love to the holy croſs of our Lord "Jeſus, and your zeal for promoting the way "thereof, by a ſtrict and cloſe diſcipline, is that "which is much wanted in many places; and "though ignorant and malicious ſpirits may (as "they have done) carp at it, and cry out againſt it "as an impoſition on conſcience, God Almighty "hath blocked up their way, and ſpoiled the "ſpoiler, and manifeſted their folly to all, the "neceſſity of a holy care in the church, more "and more daily appearing."

But the ampleſt teſtimony of approbation, is that

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William Penn, Thomas Story, and John Everot visit Ireland.

that of William Penn, who, in company with John Everot and Thomas Story, ſet out from Briſtol, at that time the place of his reſidence, in the 2d month 1698, to viſit friends in Ireland. They landed in Dublin the 6th of 3d Month O. S. and the half year's meeting began on the 8th, wherein Thomas Story writes, they were greatly comforted, not only in the enjoyment of the divine preſence; but alſo in obſerving the unity, mildneſs, and order, which appeared among Friends, in the management of the affairs of the church in that meeting.

Meetings largely attended.

The reſort of people of all ranks, qualities, and profeſſions to the meetings, was very great, chiefly to hear William Penn, who was furniſhed with matter to anſwer their expectations, and his preaching gained the aſſent and commendation of the audience in a general way. Many of the clergy attended amongſt others, and amongſt them the dean of Derry, who being at ſeveral meetings, was aſked by his biſhop, whether he heard any thing but blaſphemy and nonſenſe, and whether he took off his hat in time of prayer; to which he replied, that he heard no blaſphemy nor nonſenſe, but ſubſtantial truth; and did not only take off his hat at prayer, but his heart ſaid amen thereto

John Plympton publiſhes an abuſive paper.

Here they met with John Plympton, a tenacious baptiſt teacher, whoſe pertinacity in oppoſition and envy, William Penn had experienced before in a diſpute at Melkſham, in Wiltſhire. This perſon had publiſhed a very invidious and abuſive paper againſt friends in general, and William Penn in particular, in intemperance of language outraging common civility.

Upon

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Upon this ſeveral perſons applied to the chief elders and the meeting of that people, to inform themſelves whether this work was with their conſent or approbation; and they, with becoming candour and concern, diſclaimed having any hand in it, but that it was altogether Plympton's own work, and diſowned him therein. So looking upon him as a wrangler, they thought him not worthy of notice at that time: But afterwards William Penn publiſhing a paper, entitled *Goſpel truths held by the people called Quakers*, ſubſcribed by himſelf and three others of his friends, Plympton's enmity was rouſed again to appear in print in a piece to which he prefixed the invidious title of *The Quaker no Chriſtian.* William Penn alſo reprinted the 8th and 9th chapters of his *Primitive Chriſtianity revived*, which clearly expoſed to the publick the falſity of Plympton's charges and reflections.

Complaint againſt him to the elders of the baptiſts.

William Penn publiſhes a paper, entitled goſpel truths &c.

In the courſe of his viſit, coming to the city of Cork, William Penn paid a viſit to the biſhop, and preſented him with the aboveſaid paper, called *Goſpel truths*, which he ſeemed to receive favourably, but afterwards, unexpectedly, publiſhed ſome exceptions againſt it; to which William Penn, after his coming back to England, replied in, A defence of a paper entitled *Goſpel truths* againſt the exceptions of the biſhop of Cork.

I look upon it as unneceſſary to attend them through the whole courſe of their viſit; but only to take notice of one or two remarkable occurrences.

At Roſs, in the county of Wexford, they met with an interruption in their journey: There was a law at that time in Ireland, that

Horſes ſeized at Roſs.

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no Papiſt ſhould poſſeſs a horſe of the value of 5l. 5s. or upward; that any horſe being in poſſeſſion of one of that denomination, any proteſtant making information thereof, and tendering the owner 5l. 5s. before a magiſtrate, might poſſeſs himſelf of ſuch horſe: And all to be deemed papiſts, who ſhould refuſe to take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the declaration, upon tender thereof.

Two officers, quartered in Roſs, thought to avail themſelves of this law, by ſeizing theſe friends' horſes, and obtained a warrant from the ſovereign of Roſs, for that purpoſe, denominating the friends papiſts, within the conſtruction of the act, becauſe they held it unlawful to take an oath.

By this warrant the horſes of four of the friends were ſeized, but two returned, being worth little more than 5l. 5s. but the horſes of William Penn and his ſon they detained, being of much greater value; whereupon two friends, Joſeph Pike, of Cork, and Thomas Cuppage, of Lambſtown, went to the magiſtrate, and took out a replevin; Thomas Cuppage giving bond to ſtand the trial, by which they regained poſſeſſion of the horſes. The diſappointed officers, enraged hereat, threatened what they would expend at law; but were prevented of giving the friends any further trouble.

For William Penn wrote to the Lords Juſtices an account of this tranſaction, who immediately let theſe officers know their diſpleaſure at their diſingenuous proceedings, by ordering them to be confined to their chambers: And being apprehenſive of the conſequence, they procured application to be made to William Penn,

Penn, to entreat him to write again for their releaſe, and to prevent their being broke, who finding them brought to a ſenſe of their error, readily complied with their requeſt; upon which they were releaſed and forgiven, for which they appeared very thankful. Thus terminated this buſineſs, without much inconvenience to the friends concerned, further than preventing ſome of them from reaching Waterford in time, to the meeting they had appointed there.

At Caſhel they meet John Vaughton and Samuel Waldenfield.

Proceeding in their journey to Caſhel, in the county of Tipperary, they met John Vaughton and Samuel Waldenfield, from London: And being the firſt day of the week, the meeting was crouded by a multitude of people of various notions and ranks in that place. The meeting being gathered, the mayor of the town, with conſtables, &c. came, by direction of the biſhop of the place, and commanded them, in the King's name, to diſperſe, though he could not get into the houſe for the throng. John Vaughton, upon this, remarked "that he, with "ſome other friends, had, upon a late occaſion, "been admitted into the King's preſence; and "the King was pleaſed to aſk, if we had full "liberty in all his dominions to exerciſe our "religion without moleſtation, and we, not "knowing any thing to the contrary, anſwered "in the affirmative. To which the King was "pleaſed to reply, that if any did diſturb us "therein, to make it known to him, and he would "protect us. And here thou diſturbeſt our "meeting, and commandeſt us, in the King's "name, to diſperſe; but I appeal to this audi-"ence, whether we ſhould obey thee without

Here the meeting is attempted to be diſperſed by the mayor, by the Biſhop's direction.

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"law, or gratefully accept the King's protection "according to law."

To this Thomas Story added, "that the high "prieſts, ſcribes, and phariſees, of old, were the "greateſt enemies of Chriſt and his apoſtles; "and that generally where miſchief appeared "in any nation, that ſet of men, in every form, "were at the bottom of it, and ſo it is ſtill to "this day.

Yet the meeting is held to ſatisfaction.

William Penn, being detained in writing ſome letters of importance, while the meeting was gathering, had not yet come in; but taking an opportunity to ſpeak with the mayor, (whom he treated with the reſpect due to his office) he requeſted him to go, and let the biſhop know, he would wait upon him at his own houſe, after meeting, and deſired his patience until then. The mayor aſſented and withdrew: And then William Penn went into the meeting. The meeting was much favoured, and every inſtrument fitted for his ſhare of the labour; and the people generally ſatisfied with what they heard and felt.

William Penn's conference with the Biſhop.

The meeting being ended, William Penn, taking two or three friends along with him, went to the biſhop, with whom he expoſtulated concerning that tranſaction, telling him "it "looked a little extraordinary, as the caſe then "ſtood, when a general liberty was granted "by law, to the King's ſubjects in all his do-"minions." The biſhop treated William Penn in a friendly manner, and, in his excuſe, ſaid, "that he went that morning to church, "as uſual; and, when there, had no body to "preach to but the mayor, church-wardens, "ſome conſtables and the walls, the people

"being

"being all gone to your meeting; which, I CHAP. "confeſs, ſaid he, made me a little angry; and XII. "I ſent the mayor and conſtables with that "meſſage, in hopes by that means to procure 1698. "a greater auditory; though I have no ill will "to you, or thoſe of your profeſſion." And they parted in ſeeming friendſhip.

But afterwards, recollecting that his proceeding could not be juſtified under the preſent laws, except the meeting had been attended with ſome extraordinary and unlawful circumſtances; the biſhop to apologize for his conduct, wrote to the lords juſtices, to inform them, though cauſeleſsly, "that Mr. Penn and the "Quakers had gathered that day ſuch a multi-"titude of people, and *ſo many armed papiſts*, "that it ſtruck a terror into him and the town; "and not knowing what might be the conſe-"quence, he had ſent the mayor and other ma-"giſtrates to diſperſe them; but ſeeing they "had taken no notice of him, or the civil "powers there, he thought it his duty to lay "the matter before their lordſhips, that ſuch "remedy might be applied, as in their wiſdom "they might think proper, to obviate the danger "and ill conſequences of ſuch aſſemblies."

The Biſhop writes to the Lords Juſtices an exaggerating account of the meetings.

When William Penn and his companions arrived at Cork, finding the lords juſtices arrived there before them, William Penn, for whom they had entertained a great regard, went to pay them a viſit: After mutual ſalutations, the earl of Galway gave him the biſhop of Caſhel's letter to read, which having done, he related to them the real circumſtances of the caſe, telling them, "that he did not ſee any armed perſons "there, unleſs here and there a gentleman

"might

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"might have a ſword, as uſual; but that he "knew nothing of what religion they were." Then the earl, calling the biſhop "old dotard!" ſaid, "why ſhould he make all this ado upon "ſo common an occaſion." And that was all the forward man got by buſying himſelf beyond his ſphere.

From Lambſtown, in the county of Wexford, they wrote the following epiſtle to the yearly meeting in London, conveying an account of their ſervice, and the ſtate of their religious ſociety in that nation.

To the Yearly Meeting at *LONDON.*

"Dear Friends and Brethren,

"It is not the leaſt of our exerciſes, that we "are thus far outwardly ſeparated from you, at "this time of your holy and bleſſed ſolemnity: "But becauſe we have good reaſon to believe "it is in the will of God, we humbly ſubmit to "his ordering hand, and with open arms of "deep and tender love, embrace you our "living and loving brethren, who are given up "to ſerve the lord in your generation, and that "have long preferred *Jeruſalem*, and the peace "and proſperity of her borders, above your "chiefeſt joy. The ſalutation of our endeared "brotherly love in *Chriſt Jeſus* is unto you, "deſiring that he may richly appear among you "in power, wiſdom, and love, to guide your "judgments and influence your ſpirits, in this "weighty and anniverſary aſſembly, that ſo "nothing may appear or have place among you, "but what *ſingly ſeeks the honour of the Lord,*

"*the*

" *the exaltation of his truth, and the peace and* CHAP.
" *eſtabliſhment of his heritage.* For this, brethren, XII.
" you and we know, has been the aim, end 1698.
" and practice of thoſe whom the Lord hath
" made willing to forſake and give up all for
" his name's ſake, and through various exerciſes
" and tribulations, yea in the way of the daily
" croſs, and through the fight and baptiſm of
" many afflictions, to have their converſation
" and ſojourning here below upon the earth,
" in fear and love, looking for their reward in
" the heavens that ſhall never paſs away, who
" have not been lifted up by good report,
" nor caſt down by evil report, from their
" love to the Lord and his precious truth, but
" hold on their way, whoſe hands being clean
" of evil things towards all men, have waxed
" ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord. Wherefore,
" dear brethren, let us all be found in the ſame
" ſteps, and walking in the ſame way, not being
" high-minded, but fearing the Lord, that we may
" ſerve him through our generation in dili-
" gence and faithfulneſs, and ſo enter into the reſt
" that God has reſerved for his true travellers
" and labourers in his vineyard.

And now, dear brethren, know that the Lord
" hath brought us well into this kingdom of
" *Ireland*, and given us many large and bleſſed
" opportunities in ſeveral parts, meetings being
" crouded by people of all ranks and perſuaſions,
" eſpecially at *Dublin*, who, for ought we have
" heard, have given the truth a good report;
" and indeed the Lord has mightily appeared
" for his own name, and owned us with a more
" than ordinary preſence, ſuitable to the occa-
" ſions, and made very heavy and hard things
" eaſy to us, becauſe of the glory of his power,

" with

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" with which he aſſiſted us in our needful times,
" for which our ſouls bow before him, and bleſs,
" reverence and praiſe his holy and worthy name.
" So that, dear brethren, we have good tidings
" to give you of truth's proſperity at large, and
" more eſpecially in the churches, having had
" the comfort of the general meeting of this
" nation, conſiſting of many weighty brethren
" and ſiſters, from all parts thereof, which was
" held in the city of *Dublin* in much love,
" peace and unity for ſeveral days, wherein we
" had occaſion to obſerve their commendable
" care for the proſperity of the bleſſed truth,
" in all the branches of its holy teſtimony,
" both in the general and in the particular,
" *improving the good order* practiſed among the
" churches of Chriſt *in our nation.*

" Indeed their ſimplicity, gravity, and cool-
" neſs in managing their church affairs; their
" diligence in meetings, both for worſhip and
" buſineſs; their diſpatch in ending differences
" and expedients to prevent them; but eſpe-
" cially their zeal againſt *covetouſneſs* and in-
" differency in truth's ſervice, and *exemplary care*
" to diſcourage *an immoderate concern in purſuit of*
" *the things of this life*, and to excite friends to
" do good with what they have, very greatly
" comforted us, and in the ſweet and bleſſed
" power of Chriſt Jeſus the meeting ended,
" and friends departed. The Lord grant that
" you may alſo make the ſame purpoſe the travail
" of your ſouls, and end of your labour and ſer-
" vice of love, who ſeek not your *own things*,
" but the *things of Jeſus Chriſt*, in this your
" ſoleman general meeting.

" And,

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"And, dear brethren, we muſt tell you, "here is room enough for true labourers in "God's vineyard, and cannot well forbear "to recommend the ſervice of truth, in this "nation, to your ſerious conſideration, if haply "the Lord may put into the hearts of any faith-"ful and weighty brethren, to viſit it in the "word of eternal life; for we cannot but ſay, "the harveſt appears to us to be great, and the "labourers in compariſon but a few. So in "that love which many waters cannot quench, "nor diſtance wear out of our remembrances, "and in which we deſire to be remembred "of you to the Lord of our houſhold, we "dearly and tenderly ſalute you, and remain

"Your loving and faithful brethren,

"WILLIAM PENN,
"JOHN EVEROTT,
"THOMAS STORY."

"Lambſtowne, 2d of the 4th Month, 1698."

This epiſtle confirms the truth of the preceding remarks concerning the care of friends in Ireland, to guard the members of their ſociety againſt an immoderate engagement in temporal purſuits, which ſeems to have been an earneſt and growing concern: For about this time a general provincial viſit was appointed and performed, i. e. a viſit to every particular men's meeting through each province, in order to enquire into the ſtate of each meeting; and how the wholeſome exhortations and admonitions, imparted from the half year's meetings, had

A provincial viſit performed.

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had been put in practice; and an account was returned to the ſucceeding national meeting, of the great ſatisfaction and comfort, which the friends concerned were favoured with in their ſervice, under the feeling of divine aſſiſtance with them; and finding a condeſcending temper of mind in thoſe that were viſited, ſo as to receive their advice with cordiality, and readily to comply therewith; ſome of whom had been prevailed with to leſſen their outward concerns, that their moderation might appear, and they be more at liberty in body and mind to attend to the important work of ſalvation, and to fill up their places in ſociety with greater fidelity; others, who were poſſeſſed of large holdings of lands, to accommodate their poorer brethren, who wanted ſmaller tracts at reaſonable rates.

Epiſtle from the province meeting at Caſtledermot, againſt the inordinate cares of this life.

They alſo publiſhed and diſperſed an epiſtle from the province meeting of Leinſter, held at Caſtledermot, the 9th, 10th, and 11th days of 7 month this year, on the ſame ſubject, which affords us a ſpecimen of the ſpirit and ſentiments of the faithful elders of this time, and of the juſt conceptions they had of chriſtian ſimplicity and ſelf denial, taking it in its proper latitude and extent; not confining it, as too many are ready to ſurmiſe, to ſuperfluities of apparel, or a peculiar mode of ſpeech and addreſs; but extending it to every object of purſuit, ſo far as it is intemperately followed, to the obſtruction of our progreſs in religion, and the carrying away the mind from the ſteady purſuit of thoſe things that conduce to our peace. The cares of this life, and the deceitfulneſs of riches, they conſidered to be as dangerous ſnares to the men of great buſineſs, as airineſs of deportment,

portment, and fondneſs for pleaſure and vanity are to the youthful and inconſiderate; that the good ſeed was as effectually hindred from bringing forth fruit in the thorny, as in the highway or ſtony ground, in the parable. And we muſt admit it to be a ſtanding evidence of the ſpiritual wiſdom, and foreſight of theſe men, that the pernicious effects of the unbounded love and purſuit of temporal treaſures upon the ſpiritual proſperity of our chriſtian ſociety, have been too manifeſtly confirmed by the event in ſucceeding times. This epiſtle is recorded at length in Dr. Rutty's hiſtory, to which I refer; but the preface, written by Thomas Trafford, and the poſtſcript, by William Edmundſon, the former explaining the motives and authority of the friends in their concern, and the latter briefly recapitulating the ſubject, I think not unworthy of introducing in this place, as a ſpecimen of the ſenſe and judgment of our friends of this age and place.

Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world: If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. 1 John ch. ii. 15.

PREFACE.

"Dear Friends,

"The following epiſtle is recommended to "be read in the fear of the Lord, in which, I "doubt not, you will have a ſenſe of the religi- "ous care and concern, which the Lord hath "raiſed in the minds of ſome of his faithful "elders, for the good and preſervation of his "heritage.

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"heritage. But if there be any amongſt our-
"ſelves or others, not acquainted with our
"chriſtian diſcipline, who, for want of truly
"ſeeing the great danger and hurt that hath
"attended the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, by un-
"bounded deſires, and purſuit after the things
"of this world, ſhall cenſure our chriſtian care,
"as if we went about to exerciſe lordſhip over
"one another, or would hinder or limit ſuch
"induſtrious and capable perſons, who in the
"fear of God, and in moderation, do improve
"the creation in general, or their own worldly
"talents in particular, which God hath been
"pleaſed to give them; I ſay, if any ſhall thus
"judge of our godly care and endeavours, let
"all ſuch know they are miſtaken, and that no
"ſuch thing is intended. But as a people
"whom the Lord hath made ſenſible of the
"many ſnares that do attend, and the loſs ſome
"have ſuſtained by the inſatiable deſire, and too
"eager purſuit after the lawful things of this
"world, we felt a concern to attend our minds,
"that, if poſſible, we might be limited within
"the bounds of truth, which leads to modera-
"tion and content; and to depend upon the
"providential hand of the Lord, that will afford
"us what we ſtand in need of, rather than in-
"dulge an inordinate deſire after accumulating
"a ſuperfluity of wealth, or purſuing after the
"gain of this world's goods.

"And now, dear friends and brethren, this
"brotherly caution ariſes in my heart to you,
"who were eye-witneſſes and partakers of that
"wonderful and eminent, bowing power and
"preſence of the Lord God, that appeared
"amongſt us at that meeting, that none who

"were

" were witneſſes thereof, and thereby brought CHAP.
" into a lively ſenſe of the great danger attending XII.
" that mind, that would be going after covet- 1698.
" ouſneſs, may give the leaſt way thereto, or
" enter into reaſoning with fleſh and blood,
" by which you will loſe the ſenſe you then had
" of that ſpirit, and be in danger of becoming
" monuments of God's diſpleaſure. But, on
" the contrary, keep to the guidance of God's
" ſpirit in yourſelves, which will limit your
" deſires after the lawful things of this world
" within the bounds of moderation, which is
" the earneſt deſire of one, who deſires the
" good and preſervation of all, in that, which
" will tend to the glory of God, and bring ever-
" laſting comfort in the end.

" THOMAS TRAFFORD."

POSTSCRIPT.

" At the firſt, when the Lord called and ga- 1699.
" thered us to be a people, and opened the eyes
" of our underſtandings, then we ſaw the ex-
" ceeding ſinfulneſs of ſin, and the wickedneſs
" that was in the world; and a perfect abhor-
" rence was fixed in our hearts againſt all the
" wicked, unjuſt, vain, ungodly, unlawful part
" of the world in all reſpects; and we ſaw the
" goodly and moſt glorious lawful things of the
" world to be abuſed: And that many ſnares
" and temptations lay in them, and many trou-
" bles and dangers of divers kinds; and we felt
" the load of them, and that we could not carry
" them and run the race the Lord had ſet before

" us

CHAP. XII. 1699.

"us ſo chearfully as to win the prize of our "ſalvation; ſo that our care was to caſt off this "great load and burden of our great and gainful "ways of getting riches, and to leſſen our con- "cerns therein, to the compaſs that we might "not be chargeable to any in our ſtations and "ſervices required of us, and be ready to anſwer "Chriſt Jeſus our captain that called us to follow "him in a ſpiritual warfare, under the diſcipline "of his daily croſs and ſelf-denial; and then "the things of this world were of ſmall value "with us, ſo that we might win Chriſt, and the "goodlieſt things of the world were not near us, "ſo that we might be near the Lord, and the "Lord's truth outbalanced all the world, even "the moſt glorious part of it. Then great tra- "ding was a burthen, and great concerns a "great trouble; all needleſs things, fine houſes, "rich furniture, and gaudy apparel, was an "eye-ſore; our eye being ſingle to the Lord, "and the inſhining of his light in our hearts, "which gave us the ſight of the knowledge of "the glory of God, which ſo affected our minds, "that it ſtained the glory of all earthly things, "and they bore no maſtery with us, either in "dwelling, eating, drinking, buying, ſelling, "marrying, or giving in marriage; the Lord "was the object of our eye, and we all humble "and low before him, and ſelf of ſmall repute; "miniſters and elders in all ſuch caſes walking "as good examples, that the flock might follow "their footſteps as they followed Chriſt in the "daily croſs and ſelf-denial in their dwellings, "callings, eating, drinking, buying, ſelling, "marrying, and giving in marriage; And this "anſwered the Lord's witneſs in all conſci-

"ences,

" ences, and gave us great credit amongſt " men." CHAP. XII.

" And as our number increaſed, it happened " that ſuch a ſpirit came in amongſt us, as was " amongſt the Jews when they came out of " *Egypt*, and this began to look back into the " world, and traded with the credit which was " not of its own purchaſing, and ſtriving to be " great in the riches and poſſeſſions of this world; " and then, great, fair buildings in city and " country, fine and faſhionable furniture, and " apparel equivalent, with dainty and voluptuous " proviſion, with rich matches in marriage, " far wide from the footſteps of the mini- " ſters and elders the Lord raiſed and ſent " forth into his work and ſervice at the begin- " ning; and far ſhort of the example our Lord " and maſter Jeſus Chriſt left us, when he was " tempted in the wilderneſs with the offer of all " the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of " them, and deſpiſed them: And Moſes, that " refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharoah's " daughter, and rather choſe affliction with the " Lord's people, having a regard to the recom- " pence of reward. And the holy apoſtle writes " to the church of Chriſt, both fathers, young " men and children, and adviſes againſt the " love of the world, and the faſhions thereof: " And it is working as the old leaven at this " very time, to corrupt the heritage of God, " and to fill it with briars, thorns, thiſtles and " tares, and the grapes of the earth, to make " the Lord reject it, and lay it waſte. But the " Lord of all our mercies, whoſe eye hath been " over us for good ſince he gathered us to be " a people, and entered into covenant with us, 1699.

" according

CHAP. XII.

1699. "according to his antient promiſe, is lifting up "his ſpirit as a ſtandard againſt the invaſion of "this enemy, and is raiſing up his living word "and teſtimony in the hearts of many, to ſtand "in the gap which this floating, high, worldly, "libertine ſpirit hath made, and that is gone "from the footſteps of them that follow Chriſt "as at firſt, and know him, to bound them, "and to keep in his bounds; and not in their "own will and time lay hold on preſentations "and opportunities that may offer to get riches, "which many have had and refuſed for truth's "ſake, and the Lord hath accepted as an offering, "and rewarded to their great comfort, and to "the praiſe of his great name.

"WILLIAM EDMUNDSON."

1700. This year died James Greenwood, and Ann his wife, of Grange, in the county of Antrim, a faithful couple, being of one ſpirit (as well as joined together in the covenant of marriage) wherein they were true help-meets to one another, being endowed with many ſpiritual gifts and graces, which they, as good ſtewards, faithfully improved to the honour of the great Giver, and the benefit and comfort of his people. They were of ſuch a juſt and upright converſation, fearing the Lord and eſchewing evil, that the truth they profeſſed was honoured by them; their hearts being ſeaſoned by the heavenly grace, ſo that they were as the ſavoury ſalt, among thoſe with whom they were converſant, being of a grave and weighty deportment, aiming at the glory of God

and the good of ſouls in their concerns. They were ſtrict obſervers of the apoſtle's exhortation, not to forget to entertain ſtrangers, their houſe and hearts being open to receive the travelling ſervants of the Lord; for which ſervice they were well qualified, adminiſtring to them ſpiritual help and aſſiſtance, as well as outward entertainment. James being for many years infirm in body, was unable to travel much abroad; but Ann being healthy, both in body and mind, was frequently ſerviceable at the general meetings of friends, where ſhe appeared in ſuch ſweetneſs and evenneſs of temper, ſo ſavoury, grave, deliberate and reaching in her expreſſions, that ſuch as were in the ſervice with her were much ſtrengthened and encouraged, by the excellent fruits of the divine ſpirit that appeared through her, both in doctrine, diſcipline, and converſation. Her words in her teſtimony were but few and not forwardly expreſſed, ſhe being careful not to run before her guide, but to obſerve divine conduct, under which her example was a check to forward and raſh appearances; yet ſhe was a nurſing mother to the young and tender, a refreſher of the weary, an encourager of the diſtreſſed, and was endued with heavenly wiſdom, and a taking way of expreſſion and geſture in conference, that even diſorderly and obſtinate perſons were oftentimes won upon by her. They both died in the ſame year, in great reſignation and aſſurance of peace with God.

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

CHAP. XIII.

AMERICA.

Account of John Delaval.—Ditto of Thomas Lloyd.—Robert Wardel and Robert Barrow visit America.—Robert Wardel dies in Jamaica.—Account of Robert Barrow.—His Imprisonments and Sufferings in England.—His Visits to Ireland.—His Shipwreck in the Gulf of Florida.—The Succession of grievous Calamities which he and the Company endured amongst the Indians, and on the Way to Augustine.—He arrives at Philadelphia in a very weak State, and three Days after dies there.—Some of the Partisans of George Keith continue to be troublesome.—Several others of them return to the Society.—Caleb Wheatley's Acknowledgment.—Epistle to the yearly Meeting.—Account of Welsh Settlers.—Visit of Thomas Story and Roger Gill.—Epidemical Distemper in Philadelphia.—Roger Gill dies of it.—William Penn's second Voyage to Pensylvania.

CHAP. XIII.

1693. Account of John Delaval.

IN the latter end of 1693, died John Delaval, who, in the early settlement of these provinces, was a captain of militia at New-York, and being convinced there, about the time that Thomas Musgrave and Jonathan Tyler visited those parts, after some time he appeared in the ministry, and removed

removed to Philadelphia, where he continued his reſidence, except when he travelled in the work of the miniſtry. He is ſaid to have been partly concerned with George Keith, in anſwering Cotton Mather, and in his latter time in controverſy with the ſaid George Keith alſo. His benevolence and univerſal ſpirit procured the public eſteem; he maintained an amiable character, and kept his integrity to the day of his death. CHAP. XIII. 1693.

In this year Thomas Lloyd, deputy governor of Penſylvania, finiſhed his courſe in this life. He was younger brother to Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, in Montgomeryſhire; deſcended from a family of repute and good eſtate, of the rank of gentry in their native country. His father, a man of great eſteem, gave him an education ſuitable to his rank in life, at the beſt ſchools his country afforded, and afterwards ſent him to the univerſity of Oxford, to complete his ſtudies; in which his proficiency procured him a degree of diſtinction above many of his fellows. His natural abilities thus improved by the acquiſition of uſeful knowledge, recommended him to the regard of many perſons of ſuperior rank, by whom he was proffered poſts of preferment; but being favoured with a religious turn of mind, he was enlightened to diſcern the vanity and the danger of worldly honours and dignities; and being about the ſame time convinced of the truth of the doctrines of the people called Quakers, he, like Moſes, choſe rather to ſuffer affliction in the way of peace, than barter it for eminence, preferment, and riches in this world. Being endued with ſtrength and reſolution to take up the daily croſs and deny himſelf, whereby 1694. Account of Thomas Lloyd.

CHAP. XIII. 1694.

his natural will and affections were crucified; the wiſdom that is from beneath was made of no reputation with him, in compariſon of the favour of his creator, and the attaining of peace of mind, which he perceived was only to be attained by a life of virtue and religious dedication of heart to the ſervice of God, and the doing of his will, as far as he ſhould be favoured with light to diſcover it. Under theſe impreſſions he attained fortitude to become a fool for Chriſt's ſake, and to endure the contempt attendant on the profeſſion he had adopted, to become the object of the cenſure and wonder of his former acquaintances.

Thus leaving the vanities, the pleaſure and honour of the world behind him, and following the guidance of the ſpirit of truth, he experienced the gradual work of ſanctification, and the unfolding the myſteries of the kingdom of heaven, whereby he received qualification to become an able miniſter of the goſpel; and his diſtinguiſhed abiſities natural and acquired were ſanctified, and applied to the beſt purpoſe, the promoting of religion and righteouſneſs, wherever his influence extended; both in the land of his nativity, and the American plantations. Before his removal to America he was frequently and ſucceſſively engaged in controverſy in defence of thoſe doctrines, which he received as truth. In the year 1664 he was taken up on the highway, as he was on a journey, and for declining an oath, was committed to priſon, where he was detained ſeveral years; I apprehend, until the general releaſe in 1672. Through all, his prevailing and effectual miniſtry, his circumſpect and exemplary converſation, his pacific ſpirit, the meekneſs

meekneſs and evenneſs of his temper, his humi- CHAP.
lity, patience, temperance, love to his brethren, XIII.
and his religious care in the church, to preſerve
good order therein, and the reputation thereof 1694.
unſullied, raiſed him high in the eſtimation of his friends and neighbours in his native country. Such was the man choſen by William Penn from amongſt the companions of his voyage, to entruſt with the government of his province, in his abſence. In his temper not eaſily provoked to anger, in his judgment cool, deliberate and penetrating; he was well accompliſhed for the adminiſtration of the government of the province, and for the execution of the beneficial laws of Penſylvania. In peace and proſperity, ſeconded by magiſtrates like-minded, the affairs of government were managed under his direction, to the mutual ſatisfaction of himſelf and the people at large; 'till the diſturbances raiſed by George Keith, for a ſeaſon interrupted the remarkable harmony ſubſiſting between the different orders of the ſtate. To him Thomas Lloyd was a kind and beneficent patron, whilſt he acted in the unity of the body, of which he was a member; and he might here have been in happy and honourable circumſtances, under his protection, if he could have been contented with the ſtation and allotment for which he was choſen and qualified, but aſpiring above it, he became uneaſy to himſelf and to many others, and in the end, in a great meaſure, loſt his eſtimation amongſt the diſcerning and diſpaſſionate part of mankind. For when he exerted his endeavours to promote ſchiſm in the church, and faction in the ſtate, it became the duty of the governor, in regard

CHAP. XIII. 1694.

regard to the public good, to uſe all his influence to diſcountenance and check his proceedings. For which, we have ſeen he met with unmerited obloquy and bitter revilings from him and his partiſans, which he bore with chriſtian patience, neither returning their revilings, nor abuſing the power with which he was inveſted, to avenge himſelf; but endeavouring by ſound reaſoning in the meekneſs of wiſdom to bring them to a better temper, to return to the cultivation of amity and peace with their neighbours; and when his united labours with his brethren failed of the deſired ſucceſs, he joined his authority with them in iſſuing a publick teſtimony againſt their contentious and diſorderly conduct.

Thus devoting his labour, his time and his talents to the ſervice of God, and of the public, promoting the good of civil and religious ſociety, he fell ill of a malignant fever, which in about ſix days put a period to his life in about the 54th year of his age.

The violence of his diſtemper he bore with exemplary patience, the pain of his body being alleviated by the ſerenity of his mind, the proſpect of death being no terror to him, as the ſting thereof was taken away; which appeared by the following expreſſions, addreſſed to ſome of his friends a ſhort time before his deceaſe, viz. "friends, I love you all, and I am going "from you; I die in unity and in love with "faithful friends. I have fought a good fight, "and have kept the faith, which ſtands not in "the wiſdom of words, but in the power of "God. I have not ſought for ſtrife and contention,

"tention, but for the grace of our Lord Jeſus "Chriſt, and the ſimplicity of the goſpel. I "lay down my head in peace, and I deſire you "may all do ſo." Afterwards to Griffith Owen, "I deſire thee to mind my love to friends in "Old England, if thou live to go over to ſee "them; I have lived in unity with them, and "do deſire the Lord to keep them all faithful to "the end in the ſimplicity of the goſpel." 1694.

In the courſe of this year Robert Barrow, from Weſtmorland, and Robert Wardel, from Sunderland, county Durham, both far advanced in years, but men eminently qualified for ſervice, the latter being more remarkable for an extraordinary talent in the diſcipline, the former for an excellent gift in the miniſtry, notwithſtanding their advanced age, and the probability of a final ſeparation from their neareſt connections and their native land, under perſuaſion of duty and the impulſe of goſpel love, paid a religious viſit to their friends in this remote quarter of the globe. They commenced their ſervice in the province of Penſylvania and Jerſey, to the comfort and edification of thoſe they miniſtred unto, and afterwards viſited New England and other parts of the continent, in which ſervice they ſpent the remaining part of the preſent, and greateſt part of the ſucceeding year, and in the latter end thereof embarked for the Weſt-Indian iſlands; and after paſſing through Bermudas and Antigua, where they had conſiderable ſervice among friends and other inhabitants, they arrived at Jamaica in the ſecond month 1696, intending after their ſervice there was finiſhed, to return to the continent of America. Continuing united 1695. Robert Barrow and Robert Wardel viſit America. 1696.

CHAP. XIII. 1696.

ted in diligent labour for the promotion of truth and righteouſneſs among their friends and others in that iſland, for the ſpace of two weeks, the climate ſeemed unfavourable to their declining conſtitutions at their time of life, making a viſible alteration in both; but more immediately on Robert Wardel, whom it threw into an indiſpoſition, which ſoon terminated his labours with his life. During his confinement to his bed, a friend coming to viſit him, and enquiring of him how he found himſelf? he anſwered, "I "have been ſick many times, but I never felt "myſelf as I am now, therefore I know not how "it may be with me, the will of the Lord be "done, I am given up, and am content with God's "will." At another time he ſaid to the woman friend, at whoſe houſe he was, "the Lord "reward thee for thy tender care, it makes me "think of my dear wife; I know not whether I "may ever ſee her more; but however the will "of God be done; I am, and was willing to be "contented with the will of God, whether life "or death, before I came hither; and I bleſs "God, I am not afraid to die."—And continuing to the end in a reſigned frame of mind, gave pertinent exhortations to ſeveral of thoſe who came to viſit him, concerning the education of their children, their care of diſcipline in the church, and that things might be kept in good order, and expreſſed his deſire that friends might walk anſwerable to God's love to them; and after four days ſickneſs, he peaceably expired on the 22d of the ſecond month, leaving his companion and fellow labourer on the iſland. And as this friend was not the leaſt diſtinguiſhed among his brethren for his ſervices, and his peculiar

Robert Wardel dies in Jamaica.

peculiar ſufferings, a more particular account of him may not be unacceptable to ſome readers. CHAP. XIII.

Robert Barrow was a native of Lancaſhire, but removed and brought up from his infancy in Weſtmorland. He was convinced of the truth as held by the people called Quakers, in the early times of their being diſtinguiſhed by that denomination, and after ſome time received a gift in the miniſtry; in the exerciſe whereof he travelled much in England, twice through Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. His teſtimony and ſervice was, I underſtand, every where very edifying, and very acceptable to his friends, and reaching to others. 1696. Account of Robert Barrow. Piety promoted.

He appears to have been a man of great meekneſs, innocence, and patience, which was repeatedly put to the trial by the ſucceſſive ſufferings he endured for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, in his native country; as well as thoſe diſtreſſing hardſhips he endured in Florida, hereafter to be deſcribed.

In the year 1663 he was taken from a meeting at Birkhagge, in company with other friends, indicted at the ſeſſions; from which he, with John Ayrey and Bryan Lancaſter, were committed to priſon, and confined there upwards of eleven months.

In the year 1665 he was committed to priſon on an old indictment, but after eight days confinement, again diſcharged, upon being fined 13s. 4d. for which his goods were afterwards diſtrained.

His next ſuffering was by diſtraint of his property for a demand not properly his own. In the year 1664 Chriſtopher Biſbrown, of Arnſide, was ſued for tithes to an outlawry, and Diſtrained for a demand not properly his own.

CHAP. XIII. 1696.

and arreſted by Robert Wilkinſon, a bailiff, of Kendal, at the ſuit of James Ducket, lord of the manor of Grayrigg: The plaintiff, inſtead of obeying the requiſition of the writ, by cauſing him to be conveyed to London, to appear perſonally in the court of exchequer, found means to keep him cloſe priſoner in the bailiff's houſe above ſixteen months, in order to force him to a compliance with his demands: But the old man, who was then ſeventy-ſeven years of age, bore his confinement with chriſtian patience, and at length died in the bailiff's houſe, the place of his long confinement. And in a year or two after the proſecutor was alſo removed by death.

For in the year 1668 the two daughters and executrixes of the ſaid Chriſtopher Biſbrown were proſecuted by Elizabeth Ducket, widow and executrix of James Ducket aforeſaid, in the manor court of Beethom, for the ſame tithe for which their father ſuffered impriſonment until death. Mary Biſbrown, one of the ſaid executrixes, was ſummoned to appear, and upon her non-appearance a verdict of 6l. 10s. was obtained againſt her, and a warrant granted for diſtreſs on her goods; but ſhe being in the ſtation of a ſervant, they could find no effects of her's; and her ſiſter was out of their juriſdiction. The proſecutrix, vexed at theſe diſappointments, manifeſted clearly, that her aim in theſe proſecutions was not ſo much to obtain juſtice, as to gratify a tyrannical and vindictive diſpoſition; declaring that ſhe would ſpend 100l. upon the repreſentatives of Chriſtopher Biſbrown, rather than ſuffer them to get off with impunity. Therefore, ſoon after her aforeſaid

aforeſaid diſappointment, this our friend Robert Barrow, who had married Margaret Biſbrown, the other executrix, was ſummoned into the court at Kendal by the ſaid Elizabeth Ducket, upon the aforeſaid verdict obtained at Beethom, where he demurred to the juriſdiction of that court, which appears to have been allowed. Sometime after, he was again ſummoned to the ſaid court at Kendal, where four actions were brought againſt him at the ſuit of the ſaid Elizabeth Ducket; and on the ſecond day of the month called March, 1668, thoſe actions were tried, and a verdict obtained againſt him for 4l. for which the bailiffs took from him a horſe which coſt 4l. 5s. hay worth 15s. and ſundry articles of houſhold furniture beſide. CHAP. XIII. 1696.

In the ſame year Robert Barrow, with Miles Bateman, and John Fell, was proſecuted in the eccleſiaſtical court at Richmond, for ſmall tithes and Eaſter offerings, at the ſuit of William Brownſwood, prieſt of Kendal, and was committed to priſon and detained there nine weeks: After which theſe friends, being informed of ſome illegality in the proceedings againſt them, appealed to the eccleſiaſtical court at York, upon which they were ſet at liberty during the appeal, and were likely to recover coſts againſt the prieſt: But by the advice of one Dr. Burwell, the prieſt took an oath of the legality of his proſecution, and thereupon they were cited to anſwer upon oath, otherwiſe they would incur a contempt, which muſt have been the conſequence, only that both the prieſt and this Dr. Burwell died in the intermediate time, whereby the ſuit was terminated after an expence of 7l. to our ſaid friend, beſides his falſe impriſonment, which was attended with

Proſecuted in the eccleſiaſtical court.

CHAP. XIII.

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with a circumſtance, evidencing the unfeeling temper of his proſecutor: When the bailiffs came to his houſe to arreſt him, he was ſick, and had taken phyſick, wherefore he requeſted them to forbear taking him from home until the next day. Although theſe are a claſs of men by no means remarkable for tenderneſs, yet, in this caſe, they evidenced more of that diſpoſition than the prieſt; to whom when they applied in favour of the priſoner, informing him *it might endanger the man's health to take him away at that time; the prieſt churliſhly anſwered, that unleſs he would pay, he ſhould go immediately to jail.* So they were obliged to hurry him away, to the apparent danger of his health.

He was again impriſoned in 1677. The mayor of Kendal ſent three conſtables to the meeting, who found Robert Barrow preaching: At the next ſeſſions he, and two other friends, who were at the meeting, were (after the cuſtom of this time) indicted for a riot, fined by the court, and impriſoned: But ſome little time after, their fines were levied by diſtreſs of their goods, and themſelves ſet at liberty.

His laſt impriſonment was in London in the year 1685, after the death of king Charles, and the acceſſion of his brother James to the throne, while the perſecution of this people, for their religious diſſent, though carried on with leſs vehemence, ſtill was continued, he was taken from Devonſhire houſe meeting, and with ſeveral others indicted again for a riot, brought in guilty and fined 2l. 13s. 4d. and of courſe remanded to priſon for non-payment; but how long he was detained there I find no certain account.

But

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But it was not long until the perſecution was much moderated, and in fine terminated by the king's declaration of indulgence. Robert Barrow had, when at liberty, travelled into ſundry parts of Great-Britain in the exerciſe of his miniſterial labours in ſundry periods of his life; but did not croſs the ſeas in that ſervice until his declining years. In 1691 his ſympathy with his friends in Ireland, juſt relieved from a ſeaſon of great diſtreſs, drew him to pay them a religious viſit, being the firſt friend from abroad who viſited that nation after the wars. And in the next year 1692, he repeated his viſit to that nation, in company with Alexander Seaton.

Embarks for America in his old age.

In the year 1694 he left his outward habitation under a full perſuaſion of duty, to pay a religious viſit to his friends on the American continent, and ſome of the Weſt-Indian iſlands; for ſo diſcouraging was the proſpect of this undertaking at his time of life, that nothing ſhort of a firm belief of a divine impulſe inciting thereto could have prevailed over his reluctance to the voyage; but in obedience to the divine will, though in a croſs to his own, he ſubmitted to proſecute that way, which only ſeemed to open, to the maintaining that peace of mind, which with him was of more conſideration, than bodily eaſe, or even domeſtic ſatisfaction, without it. Such was his apprehenſion of the attendant difficulties and dangers, that he expreſſed himſelf to this effect before he left England, *that he had rather have immediately laid down his natural life there, if by ſo doing he could have kept his peace with God, than to croſs the ſeas to America.*

We

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We left him in the iſland of Jamaica, where he ſpent about four months after the deceaſe of his companion, and being clear of his ſervice in thoſe parts was purpoſing to return to Penſylvania; and with that view he embarked in company with Jonathan Dickenſon and his family, on board the Barkentine Reformation, Joſeph Kirle maſter, on the 23d day of the 6th month called Auguſt, 1696; they proceeded pretty ſucceſsfully on their voyage till the 22d of next month, when being in the Gulf of Florida, a great ſtorm aroſe and drove them aſhore in the night, when it was ſo dark they could ſee no land, the ſeas broke over them, and ſet all things in the cabin afloat; the veſſel was ſoon ſhattered, ſeveral of the timbers broken and planks ſtarted. They concluded to keep in the veſſel as long as it would hold together, and at day light found themſelves on ſhore upon a beach which was dry when the ſurges retreated.

Shipwrecked in the gulf of Florida.

They ſeemed to conceive the joy naturally reſulting from this preſervation from the raging waves, but allayed by fears from their ignorance of the land on which they were thrown, they got on ſhore, and brought off ſome of their proviſions, with ſpars and ſails to make a tent. Jonathan Dickenſon with a negro ſervant went to view the land, which appeared a dreary waſte without trees or herbage; they choſe the moſt convenient place they could find for their tent, to which they brought the ſick and the weak, particularly Jonathan Dickenſon's wife and young child, and Robert Barrow, who beſides the infirmity of age, had been for ſome time under an infirm ſtate of health; the ſtorm and rain

rain ſtill continued, from which they had no proper ſhelter, their clothes alſo were all very wet and cold, but theſe were ſcarcely to be reckoned hardſhips in compariſon of what they had to experience. CHAP. XIII. 1696.

For in a ſhort time two of the natives made their appearance, who went quite naked, except a ſmall piece of plaited ſtraw-work about their waiſts, faſtened behind, and depending down a little before; theſe ſavages looked very fierce, their countenances very furious, their hair was tied behind in a roll, in which ſtuck two bones, one ſhaped like a broad arrow, the other like the point of a ſpear, and their weapons were long knives with which they were furniſhed by the Spaniards. Theſe two natives running furiouſly, ſeized the two firſt of the ſhip's crew they met with, who were fetching corn from the veſſel; the reſt of the crew coming up ſeemed diſpoſed to fetch their guns to kill them, but were diſſuaded by Jonathan Dickenſon, who obſerved to them their inability to defend themſelves and company from the conſequences of ſuch an action, adviſing them to put their truſt in the Lord, who was able to defend them to the uttermoſt. After looking upon theſe ſtrangers awhile, the Indians turned their backs and ran away.

The Indians of Florida very ſavage and cruel.

Theſe Indians of Florida appear to have been of a much more ſavage and vicious temper than any of thoſe tribes bordering upon the middle and northern provinces inhabited by the Engliſh planters, ſo much ſo that theſe latter might be eſteemed civilized people compared to them, being of that barbarous kind in thoſe days termed canibals or men-eaters. The ſudden retreat of

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of theſe two filled the ſhip-wrecked crew and paſſengers with gloomy apprehenſions, imagining they were gone to alarm the reſt of the natives in theſe parts, which ſeemeth to have been really the caſe.

The ſhipwrecked people aſſume the name of Spaniards.

Conferring amongſt themſelves about the beſt expedients in this extremity, one of the company propoſed to aſſume the denomination of Spaniards, as theſe Indians ſtood in awe of them; and one of the mariners, named Solomon Creſon, ſpeaking the Spaniſh language well, the motion was agreed to by moſt of the company as the moſt probable means of eſcaping with their lives.

Soon after word was brought by ſome of their people who had been near the beach, that the Indians were coming in a very great number, all running and ſhouting; the greateſt part went to plunder the veſſel, but the Caſſakey (their king or chief) with about thirty more, came upon the ſhipwrecked people in a furious manner, with a terrible aſpect, their large Spaniſh knives in their hands, and foaming at the mouth, cried out *Nicaleer*, *Nicaleer*, which though not underſtood at that time, they came after to underſtand was the term they uſed to ſignify *Engliſhmen*, to whom they bore a particular malevolence, whether from any miſrepreſentations of the Spaniards, or becauſe the Engliſh having no power here to call them to account, they might think themſelves at liberty to give full ſcope to their natural propenſity to cruelty; or whether it might proceed from any injury they conceived themſelves to have received from any individuals of this nation, it is not poſſible to determine; however it be, it would be well for

thoſe

thoſe who may not be in their power, to offer them no injury or offence, leſt their countrymen ſuffer for their miſconduct.

1696. They ſeem in danger of being murdered by the ſavages.

When theſe perſons endeavoured according to their agreement to paſs themſelves upon them for Spaniards, they repeated their cry, "no Eſpania, "Nickaleer, Nickaleer," and ſurrounding them, placed themſelves each behind one, and ſome taking hold of them by the head, with their knees ſet againſt their ſhoulders, with their arms extended and their knives in their hands, in this poſture they ſeemed to wait for the Caſſekey to begin the butchery. But the hearts of all men are in the hands of a ſuperior power, and he can turn them as he pleaſes.

but are providentially preſerved.

The friends ſitting quite ſtill, and apparently unmoved, reſigned to the divine will, and placing their confidence in divine providence, quietly waited the event; when all on a ſudden the Indians, who had been very clamorous in their unintelligible jargon, and dreadfully fierce in their countenances, were ſtruck dumb, their countenances fell, and they looked like men amazed for a quarter of an hour. Then they withdrew their hands, and left them, to rifle their trunks and cheſts, which they had brought on ſhore, and divided the ſpoil, the Caſſekey reſerving the money to himſelf. They ſtripped moſt of them of their clothes, leaving them as naked as themſelves, (except Jonathan Dickenſon's wife and child, Robert Barrow and Joſeph Kirle). Being now in the hands of theſe Indians, it pleaſed divine providence to affect the Caſſekey's heart with tenderneſs, who thenceforward became their protector againſt the further rapine or abuſe of his people.

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1696. Robert Barrow's integrity.

But the next day the Caſſekey came into the tent, which by his direction by a ſignal, the ſhip's company had erected to ſhelter themſelves from the ſtorm and rain, and ſitting down amongſt them, repeated the queſtion *Nickaleer, Nickaleer?* and addreſſed himſelf directly to Robert Barrow: Now although the reſt for the ſafety of their lives had aſſumed the name of Spaniards, ſome on that account making a wrong aſſertion, others evading a direct anſwer, yet this honeſt man, who had learned of the God of truth, to ſpeak the truth from his heart on all occaſions, even at the hazard of his life, durſt do neither the one or the other, but in ſimplicity anſwered yes *; whereupon the Caſſakey aſked him, if another perſon, to whom he pointed was *Nickaleer?* to which he returned the ſame anſwer. Then he ſaid *totus* (all) *Nickaleer*, and went out, but returned in a ſhort time with ſome of his men with him, and then they ſtripped Robert Barrow and the reſt, who had hitherto been ſpared, of their clothes, and left them likewiſe almoſt naked; yet God ſuffered not theſe ſavages to take their lives.

* As neither party underſtood the language of the other, a difficulty may preſent itſelf to the reader; how this Caſſekey could know that *yes* was an affirmative anſwer. It hath been obſerved that one of the company could ſpeak Spaniſh, whom, when preſent, they employed as their ſpokeſman, and, in his abſence, had anſwered Eſpania or Penſylvania: This Caſekey had got a ſmattering of Spaniſh from his intercourſe with the Spaniards, and finding by Robert Barrow's anſwer that it was neither in the Spaniſh language, nor the expreſſion the others had made uſe of, being all along ſuſpicious they were Engliſhmen, or Nickaleer, this new anſwer might confirm his ſuſpicions, and make him take it for granted that this anſwer was an owning of it.

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The Indians having collected their plunder, provided a guard armed with bows and arrows to conduct their priſoners to their town, who were each of them, if any ways able, obliged to carry a burthen provided for them out of the plunder. Thus loaded, and threatened to be ſhot if any of them offered to lay down their burthen, they were marched about five miles barefooted through a deep ſand, and the ſun extremely hot; when they reached an inlet of the ſea, on the other ſide whereof their town ſtood, compoſed of a few wigwams, conſtructed of ſmall poles ſtuck in the ground, bent one to another to form an arch, and covered with a thatch of palmetto leaves; to this town they were taken over the inlet in canoes.

The Engliſhmen carried to the Indian town.

Here they had an opportunity of obſerving their manner of worſhip, which was performed by night, and which is thus deſcribed: The moon being up, an Indian who performs their ceremonies, looking ſteadfaſtly at the moon, made a hideous noiſe, and acted like a madman for the ſpace of half an hour, all the Indians being ſilent 'till he had done; after which they made a great noiſe, ſome like the barking of a dog, and other ſtrange ſounds; after this, one got a log, and ſet himſelf down, holding the ſtick or log upright reſting on the ground, ſeveral others gathered about him, making a hideous noiſe, and ſinging after their faſhion; at length their women joined the chorus, and added greatly to the vociferation, which continued till midnight.

The Indian manner of worſhip.

The next day the 26th of the month, they had amongſt themſelves worſhip of a very different

R. Barrow's exhortation to patience, and his fervent prayer for preſervation.

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ferent kind. Robert Barrow under a deep exerciſe of mind, in conſideration of their preſent diſtreſſing trials, toward the evening of the day, felt a concern to addreſs an exhortation to his fellow ſufferers to patience under their preſent afflictions, preaching from the text of ſcripture, Rev. iii. 10. *Becauſe thou haſt kept the word of my patience, therefore I will keep thee.* After which he ended with a moſt fervent prayer, deſiring of the Lord, *that whereas he had ſuffered them to be caſt amongſt a barbarous and heatheniſh people, that if it was his bleſſed will he would preſerve and deliver them from amongſt them, that their names might not be buried in oblivion, and that he might lay his body amongſt his faithful friends.* At the cloſe of his prayer he ſeemed to have an aſſurance that his petition would be granted.

They quit the Indian town to travel to Auguſtine.

They ſpent five days amongſt this ſavage people, and then, being ſtripped of all they had, were permitted to depart, and obtained from the Indians at their departure ſome things they ſeemed to ſet no value upon, being articles of proviſion theſe ſavages knew not the uſe of, but which might be of ſervice to them in their journey. They had hitherto eaten very little, if any thing, from the time of their ſhipwreck; at firſt their affliction and terror took away their appetite, that they had little inclination to eat; then the Indians' food here was moſtly diſtaſteful to them, and when they were provided with fiſh pretty plentifully, ſome of them hungry as they were, having conceived a dreadful notion of them as canibals or men-eaters, durſt eat but ſparingly, as imagining they only fed them to feed themſelves upon them.

They

They divided their company, the ableſt taking their journey by land, and the ſick and weak by water, in their own boat, which they had obtained of the Caſſekey, and directed their courſe to a place called Lucia, on their way to Auguſtine; but particularly to deſcribe all the hardſhips, diſtreſſes and dangers they paſſed through in a wilderneſs journey, or voyaging little leſs trying and dangerous for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven weeks, till they reached that town, would be too tedious a recital: A ſummary relation thereof may ſuffice in this place.

Expecting to meet a place of ſafety they are diſappointed.

When they came to the place of their firſt deſtination, where they expected greater ſafety, and more friendly treatment amongſt Indians nearer to the body of the Spaniſh ſettlements, they found themſelves greatly diſappointed, meeting here with inhabitants not a whit more civilized than thoſe they had left behind, equally ſavage, equally ſuſpicious of their being Engliſhmen, and equally ill-diſpoſed towards them as ſuch; yet they were here alſo providentially preſerved from perſonal injury, any farther than ſtripping them of thoſe poor rags which the others had left them, for theſe ſtripped and left them quite naked. Here the Caſſekey's wife was made an inſtrument for their preſervation, ſhe and ſome others poſſeſſing ſome tenderneſs, though amongſt ſuch an inhuman crew.

Various perils.

They were daily converſant in perils by ſea and perils by land; once an arrow ſhot at them narrowly miſſed them; another time, when ſome were going to ſhoot, certain of their own company caught hold of their bows and arms to prevent them; ſome did ſhoot, and their arrows miſſed oftener than once; one time as they were rowing

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rowing along ſhore in their boat, the ſea ſwelled to that degree that it was dangerous continuing there all night, and as dangerous to endeavour to gain the ſhore, yet that divine providence in which they truſted made way for them here, and conducted them ſafe to ſhore, it appearing as if a lane were made through the breakers, ſo that they landed ſafely. Another time, by reaſon of a great flood, they were obliged to remove their lodgings ſeveral times, and for divers days were in continual apprehenſion of being drowned; at length they were preſerved on an oyſter-hill.

Their food loathſome.

Their food amongſt theſe latter Indians as well as the former was both very ſcanty, and very loathſome, even gills and guts of fiſh picked off a dunghill; ſometimes the nauſeous ſcraps the Indians threw away, and the water they boiled their fiſh in however filthily handled: At firſt we have ſeen their ſorrows and alarms deprived them of appetite, then the Indian food was diſtaſteful, but at length extreme hunger prevailed over all diſguſt, they could eat the palmetto berries with an appetite, which at firſt had a moſt diſagreeable taſte, and were like to take away their breath.

Their lodging very uncomfortable.

Their lodging was equally uncomfortable: it is eaſily imagined how great a hardſhip it muſt be to people well educated, and inured to comfortable accommodations, to lie on a floor ſwarming with vermin of many ſorts, and in the midſt of all the filth that bred theſe vermin; more ſeverely trying ſtill was their lodging on the cold ground afterwards, unclothed and unſheltered, expoſed to the chilling blaſts of the rigid North-weſt wind.

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For before they reached Auguſtine, this wind introducing the ſevereſt cold and froſt in this continent ſet in; they were then in an uninhabited country, where they were obliged to take up their lodging on the ground in the open air, they provided the beſt ſhelter they could againſt the freezing wind, and having wood here made a large fire, but when they lay down could not reſt, for when on one ſide they were even ſcorched by the fire, the other ſide was ready to freeze, inſomuch that they were obliged to ſtand or keep running moſt of the night; the next day proved the accumulation of their ſorrows, faint and weary for want of reſt and want of food, they walked in pain through weakneſs and fatigue, if they ſtood ſtill they were benumbed with the froſt and loſt themſelves, and if this were the caſe with any of them, the reſt were too weak to aſſiſt them; they were obliged to leave them to periſh, or periſh with them; three or four of their negroes actually periſhed, and were ſeen by them no more, and one of the paſſengers fainting they were forced to leave behind half dead, and I find not that he came to them again. Upon this cataſtrophe I find the following remark, * "God can both adminiſter "ſtrength in the midſt of weakneſs, and alſo "take away ſtrength and cauſe weakneſs to "ſucceed whenever he pleaſes. Here was an "old man†, a ‡ woman with a ſucking child, "and a woman with child, perſons very un"likely to encounter ſuch hardſhips, all perſe"vered through, and yet divers negroes inured

They endure great hardſhip by the extremity of cold and froſt.

* Preface to J. Dickenſon's narrative.

† Robert Barrow. ‡ Jonathan Dickenſon's wife.

to

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1696. They arrive at Auguſtine,

"to more hardſhips periſhed." The next day they reached a Spaniſh ſettlement, and in two days more they arrived at Auguſtine; on the 15th of 9th month November, after a very diſtreſſing journey from the 28th of 7th month September, the day they left the firſt Indian town, wherein they experienced calamities the moſt diſtreſſing to human nature, literally thoſe the apoſtle recounts as ſuch, "In perils of wa-"ters, in perils of robbers, in perils by the "heathen, in perils in the wilderneſs, in perils "in the ſea; in wearineſs and painfulneſs, in "watchings often, in hunger and thirſt, in faſt-"ing often, in cold and nakedneſs. 2 Cor. xi. "26, 27."

where they are very kindly entertained by the governor, and ſent forward to Carolina.

At Auguſtine they were entertained, clothed and fed with great humanity by the governor, who having providentially heard of their captivity among the Indians, ſent out a body of Spaniards into the Indian ſettlements to find them out and conduct them thither; and when they were ſufficiently refreſhed to undertake the journey, provided them with neceſſary accommodations and proper guides to conduct them ſafely to Carolina. The governor of Carolina, with equal generoſity and humanity compleated that relief the other had begun, ſupporting them liberally, and providing them with better clothing than Auguſtine afforded; here they ſtayed a month wanting four days, when Robert Barrow, Jonathan Dickenſon, his wife and child, embarked for Penſylvania, and in fourteen days arrived at Philadelphia, on the 1ſt day of the 2d month O. S. called April, 1697, about ſix months and ſeven days from the time of their ſhipwreck.

From whence they arrive at Philadelphia.

Robert

1697. R. Barrow reduced to a very weak ſtate.

Robert Barrow from the decay of nature and the unwholeſomeneſs of the food he had ſubſiſted on among the Indians, had contracted a violent flux, added to his preceding ſickneſs, which had held him ever ſince he left Auguſtine, and was aggravated by the cold weather, ſo that when he arrived at Philadelphia, he was reduced to ſuch extremity of weakneſs as to be incapable of moving or helping himſelf.

It was about eight o'clock in the evening when the veſſel he was in arrived, and divers friends went on board to help him on ſhore, but found him too weak to remove that night; he was rejoiced to ſee them, and expreſſed his great ſatisfaction that the Lord had granted his requeſt that he might lay down his bones in that place; that his heart was ſtrong, and he hoped to ſee friends again at the meeting. He gratefully acknowledged the goodneſs of God to him, the conſolation of whoſe preſence had attended him in all his exerciſes.

The next morning ſeveral friends went aboard to aſſiſt in bringing the veſſel up to a wharf, in order to get him on ſhore, which they effected, and wrapping him up in a blanket conveyed him in a hammock to the houſe of Samuel Carpenter, where being ſhifted, he ſlept a conſiderable time: the ſame day ſome friends came to viſit him, at the ſight of whom he ſeemed greatly rejoiced. The friends expreſſed their gladneſs to ſee him, but ſaid they were ſorry to ſee him ſo weak; to which he replied, "although my body "be weak, my mind is ſound and my memory "good. The Lord hath been very good to me "all along to this very day, and this very morn-"ing hath ſweetly refreſhed me." And further added,

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added, "the Lord hath anſwered my deſire, for "I deſired content, and that I might come to "this place to lay my bones amongſt you." And afterwards, "it is a good thing to have "a conſcience void of offence, both towards "God, and towards men."

1697. His dying expreſſions.

On the 4th day of the 2d month, about the 5th hour in the morning, he deſired a friend to write for him to his dear wife, to remember his dear love to her, and let her know of his travels and his arrival at Philadelphia; that the Lord was with him, that his outward affairs were ſettled, and that ſhe had wherewithal to live on. Several friends coming to viſit him this day, he ſaid, "that the Lord was with him, and all "things were well, and that he had nothing to "do but die." And the ſame day departed this life, being the 3d day after his arrival, and on the 6th day of the ſame month was decently interred in friends burying ground in Philadelphia.

His death.

The partiſans of G. Keith continue very troubleſome.

Although George Keith had left America, and was now buſying himſelf in vain endeavours to ſcatter the ſeeds of diſcord amongſt his former friends in England, yet in America, where he had been more ſucceſsful in cauſing an open ſeparation, the ſeeds of diſſenſion and enmity he had ſown amongſt his partiſans had grown to ſtrength, and many of them having thoroughly imbibed the bitterneſs of his ſpirit, continued to be very troubleſome to their quondam friends. At the yearly meeting at Burlington this year, George Hutchinſon, with ſome others of the party, attempted to diſturb the meeting of worſhip, coming in under a very ill-timed pretence of demanding juſtice againſt the miniſters and

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ſtrangers,

ſtrangers, againſt whom he alledged he had di- CHAP.
vers things to object, both in reſpect to doctrine XIII.
and practice; but it being evident by his man- ~~~
ner of expreſſion, that he was actuated by a ſpi- 1696.
rit of envy and malignity, and that his intention was only to diſorder the meeting by cavilling and contention, friends took no notice of him, but continued their meeting unmoved by his railing accuſations, and as they felt their minds properly influenced, bore their teſtimonies to the truth, and continued them over all his oppoſition: Nothing perhaps aggravates paſſion more than the obſervation that it makes no impreſſion; exaſperated at the neglect of his calumnies he continued his railing even while ſome of the friends were preaching; and when he found he could not attain his end to put the meeting in diſorder or confuſe the preachers, he departed in wrath, with a menace that he would publiſh or expoſe them to the world. A menace which could make little impreſſion on them, as they had already experienced what his ſtrenuous efforts in this line of conduct could effect, particularly the preceding evening, when the town being full of people, he had gathered a tumultuous company in the ſtreets, whom he entertained with an harangue, conceived in thoſe invective and injurious terms, which were now become too cuſtomary with him and his party in venting their cauſeleſs enmity againſt that body of people of which they had profeſſed themſelves members, and who having adminiſtered no juſt occaſion for their reproaches, they rebounded in the eſtimation of the impartial upon themſelves.

Hutchinſon

CHAP. XIII.

1696. Hutchinſon's diſturbance ſucceeded by that of ſome Germans.

Hutchinſon had no ſooner withdrawn than a freſh diſturbance was attempted by a number of Germans with one Henry Bernard Caſtor at their head, who was one of thoſe called Pietiſts, whom with his brethren, friends in London were reported to have aſſiſted on their way to Penſylvania, for which they ſeem to have made very ungrateful returns; for divers of them gave friends there much trouble in matters wherein no reaſonable plea of conſcience or duty could be advanced, and in a manner inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of chriſtianity, appearing very fierce and violent, eſpecially at this meeting: for with turbulent vociferation they produced ſeveral books of Edward Burrough's, William Penn's and other friends, clamouring againſt them that they denied the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and that they were there ready to prove it out of theſe books. It was certainly a great hardſhip, impoſed by theſe unruly ſpirits, upon a people religiouſly aſſembled for mutual edification, to have their ſolemnities thus interrupted and diſturbed, and endeavours uſed to convert them into ſcenes of confuſion and altercation; but friends feeling their minds ſtayed under an awful inward ſenſe of the great duty of worſhip which they were engaged in, they were preſerved ſo ſteadfaſt and immoveable, as not to gratify their luſt to contention by an oppoſition at that time unſeaſonable, but ſuch as felt their minds influenced to ſpeak in public were ſtrengthened to continue their teſtimonies over all their clamour, diſorder and raiſing of their voices, and ſpeaking, two, three and ſome times more at a time, ſo that at length they gave out and left the meeting.

But

CHAP. XIII.

1697.

But although many of thoſe who had withdrawn themſelves with George Keith retained their inveterate enmity againſt friends, yet many others perceiving the cauſeleſſneſs of their ſeparation, and feeling want of peace in themſelves therein, had returned back to the ſociety, and acknowledged their errors to the monthly meetings to which they had belonged, by a writing under their hands, of which the following is a ſpecimen:

Several others of his followers return back to the fellowſhip of the ſociety.

" Long before George Keith ſet up his ſepa-
" rate meeting, my mind was at times gone out
" of the pure fear of God, into my own reaſon,
" and conceivings, and in that I took in hand
" to judge of friends' teſtimonies, and therein
" ſpeak evil of that which through God's good-
" neſs I now ſee I underſtood not, and parti-
" cularly againſt John Willsford, who often
" gave us warning of what is now come to
" paſs, telling us, in the power and demonſtra-
" tion of God's pure ſpirit, that if we went from
" the guidance of God's ſpirit in our own ima-
" ginations, and hunting to ſtudy God's ſecrets,
" it would gender to ſtrife and contention, and
" we ſhould be like heads and hands puſhing
" and ruſhing one at another, which is too ap-
" parent at this day; and notwithſtanding George
" Keith went beyond all bounds of moderation
" in reflecting upon friends, perverting their
" words, and mangling their teſtimonies, and
" unto ſuch great heats and paſſions, the fond,
" fooliſh affection I had to him blinded my
" eyes, or at leaſt made me willing to overlook
" them, and not only ſo, but the guidance of
" God's ſpirit in my own heart, which would
" have

Caleb Wheatley's acknowledgement.

CHAP. XIII. 1697.

" have kept me out of thoſe evils if I had well
" minded it, and often followed me, and re-
" proved me, and broke my reſt, while I join-
" ed with the ſeparate party. I am not able to
" expreſs in words the ſorrow aud trouble I had
" night and day, whilſt I frequented their meet-
" ings and heard them ſpeak evil of friends, for
" that was moſt of their practice when their
" meetings were over, as well as at many other
" times. But now I praiſe the Lord for his
" mercies, who hath let me ſee the out-goings
" of my own mind, and the evil of their ways,
" and hath in meaſure given me ſtrength to
" come out from amongſt them, and to bear
" my teſtimony againſt that ſpirit, both in my-
" ſelf and others, which leadeth into ſuch evil,
" as is too frequent among them; and I am
" very ſorry and ſore grieved that I ſhould be
" ſo fooliſh as to join with them againſt friends,
" in ſetting my hand to their pretended yearly
" meeting paper. I was troubled for it often
" before I left them. They often deſired me to
" give them a reaſon why I left them. I might
" give them many, but in ſhort I had no true
" peace with them. I often tried for life. I
" could not feel it amongſt them, but inſtead
" thereof ſorrow and anguiſh of ſoul, and if I
" had kept to the pure guidance of God's pure
" ſpirit, and the light of Chriſt in my own
" heart, which ſome of them in my hearing
" have undervalued, ſaying they thought I had
" known better things, when I ſaid I ought to
" believe in the light within, which reproveth
" for ſin. I ſay, if I had kept to this, I had ne-
" ver joined with them in the beforementioned
" things,

" things, which I am ſatisfied by my own ex- CHAP.
" perience Chriſt never led them into. To con- XIII.
" clude, my deſire to the Lord is that he will
" keep me cloſe to the guidance of his pure 1697.
" ſpirit, out of that reſtleſs ſpirit which I have
" ſometimes been in, and I hope he will, if I
" diligently wait upon him; but if for want of
" watchfulneſs the enemy ſhould prevail, as I
" hope he never will, I have full ſatisfaction in
" what I have have here written, and in joining
" with my real friends again, amongſt whom
" I feel life, and more quiet and ſteadineſs of
" mind than I have done for a long time be-
" fore. Praiſe to the Lord for evermore.
" Amen.

" CALEB WHEATLEY.

" Written the 31ſt of the 11th month, 1692."

[a] Thoſe of the Separatiſts who did not return to their brethren were now under various fluctuations, ſome turned to the epiſcopalians, ſome to the baptiſts, and others to nothing; but many of them though ſhattered among themſelves continued violent againſt friends, and as irreconcileable as ever; it was however plainly enough to be ſeen that the whole was breaking and coming to nothing faſt; the yearly meeting epiſtle of this year from hence to friends in London, gives ſome account of the preſent ſtate of things, as well among them as otherwiſe in theſe provinces; ſome paragraphs of it are therefore here inſerted:

[a] S. Smith.

" Dear

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1697.

"Dear Friends,

"In that which abides for ever we ſalute and "tenderly embrace you, and in the joy of God's "ſalvation rejoice with you, admiring and re- "verencing that arm that has thus far brought "us out of darkneſs into the marvellous light "of the Lord, in which the nations of them "that are ſaved muſt walk, in which light and "life our unity and heavenly fellowſhip ſtands "ſure againſt all the attempts of ſatan, to break "it either immediately by his own ſuggeſtions, "or inſtrumentally by thoſe, who either never "knew it, or having known it, through an "evil heart of unbelief, have departed from "it.

"Dear friends, our yearly meeting at this "time hath been much larger than ever, not- "withſtanding the backſliding and apoſtacy of "divers with George Keith, and the vain en- "deavours uſed by them, in their reſt- "leſs ſtate to trouble and divide us, which the "more they attempt the more the Lord unites "us to his glory and our comfort, and their "vexation and torment, and in this bleſſed uni- "ty have we had a ſweet time together at this "ſeaſon, which may be truly called a feaſt of "charity; and beſides the public friends be- "longing to this meeting, we had with us our "friends Jonathan Tyler, Henry Payton and "Sarah Clark, who, we are ſenſible, came in "the love of truth to viſit us, in which we re- "ceive and bid them God ſpeed; they have la- "boured painfully and induſtriouſly in the "ſervice of truth, with good acceptance, and "are now near leaving us, in order to return "to England, whom we pray God to protect,

"and

" and give them their ſheaves in their boſoms, " and provoke others to the like ſervices, of " which we ſhall be at all times glad. CHAP. XIII. 1697.

" Our exerciſe with the Separatiſts is much " over here, only our lamentation over ſome of " the moſt ſimple of them, for whoſe return " we wait, ſince they have ceaſed to give us " diſturbance as formerly; they are at great va- " riance amongſt themſelves, biting and de- " vouring one another, and ſurely the Lord is " letting fall ſhowers of confuſion upon them, " they continue ſtill going back, divers of them " to water baptiſm, about which, and the ſup- " per, and the lawfulneſs of oaths, a great part " of their contention is.

" We are ſenſible, dear friends, of your exer- " ciſe with that malicious unruly inſtrument " *George Keith*, the weight of which we bore " here for ſome time, and therefore can the " more ſenſibly ſympathize with you, and you " by your preſent exerciſe with us. But glory " to God, though the rage of him and his adhe- " rents be great, yet their time is ſhort and they " are falling apace, and that power before which " they have begun to fall ſhall accompliſh what " is yet behind concerning them, and ſo, dear " friends, we conclude letting you know that " through the Lord's great mercy we enjoy our " health generally here and in the bleſſed fel- " lowſhip of the goſpel of peace, reſt your " friends and brethren.

" Signed in behalf and by appointment of " the meeting by

" PHINEAS PEMBERTON."

CHAP. XIII. 1698.

Thomas Janney, from Bucks county, Penſylvania, in the year 1698 viſited friends in New England in the work of the miniſtry, as did alſo at different times in the ſame year John Simcock, James Dilworth, William Biles, John Willsford and Nicholas Waln, all from Penſylvania; Richard Gove alſo this year went with Thomas Chalkley on a religious viſit to friends in Maryland and Virginia.

Several ſettlers as we have ſeen had already arrived from Wales to Penſylvania; Hugh Roberts who was on a viſit there from hence, ſtayed till this year, when being about to return, a number of the inhabitants of North Wales who had reſolved to return with him, having ſettled their affairs for that purpoſe, they together in the ſpring ſailed from Liverpool in a veſſel belonging to Robert Haydock, Ralph Williams commander, and touching at Dublin, ſailed from thence the firſt of the third month; ſhortly after they got to ſea the bloody flux began among the paſſengers, and proved very mortal, forty-five of them and three ſailors having died before their arrival at Philadelphia, which was not till the 7th of the 5th month following. When arrived they met with a kind reception, not only from their relations and acquaintance, that were in the country before, but from others who were mere ſtrangers to them, in that they underſtood not their language, ſo that it then appeared to them, that chriſtian love preſided even amongſt thoſe of a different ſpeech and profeſſion, for they were not now many of them of thoſe called Quakers; in the latter end of this year William Jones, Thomas Evans, Robert Evans, Owen Evans, Cadwallader Evans, Hugh Griffith,

Griffith, John Hugh, Edward Foulke, John Humphrey, Robert Jones and others, having purchaſed of Robert Turner ten thouſand acres of land, in the following year began to improve and ſettle it, and called the townſhip Gwynedd, which is in Engliſh North Wales. There were for ſome time after their ſettlement, but a few of the paſſengers in the ſhip before mentioned that had made open profeſſion with friends, but ſeveral of them had inclinations after it, which probably was not unknown to Evan Evans, the then officiating miſſionary to the epiſcopalians in Philadelphia, who made them ſeveral viſits with offers of ſervice, but diſcovering no encouragement in the way he ſeemed to aim at, left them. After ſome time they were generally convinced, and more thoroughly eſtabliſhed in the principles they had eſpouſed, and with their families met often together to wait upon the Lord in ſilence, at the houſes of John Hugh and John Humphrey, and for their encouragement in this way many of their country-folk, and others of their brethren in profeſſion, ſome of which were miniſters, came often to viſit them, particularly Ellis Pugh, whom they mentioned as greatly inſtrumental in thoſe early times to the convincement and eſtabliſhment of many, and adding to the number of thoſe who afterwards profeſſed with friends; frequent were his viſits and labours in the miniſtry, though he then lived at a conſiderable diſtance, but in time removing within the verge of their meeting, he continued a fervent labourer among them to the end of his days, and many of them with good reaſon thought they had cauſe to be humbly thankful for ſuch a bleſſing.

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1698. Elizabeth Webb from Glouceſterſhire in England, about this time travelled through all the Engliſh colonies on the continent of America, where friends were ſettled, and was eminently ſerviceable amongſt them in the exerciſe of a large public teſtimony.

Mary Rogers from England, was alſo here now travelling on the ſame account, and Elizabeth Gamble from Barbadoes, both of whom viſited the meetings in theſe provinces to good ſatisfaction.

1699. R. Gill and T. Story viſit theſe parts. In the beginning of the year 1699, Roger Gill and Thomas Story from England, arrived in Virginia, and from thence went to North Carolina, thence travelled by land to Philadelphia, taking friends meetings in their way. They made a ſmall ſtay in the city, and then ſet out for the provinces to the Eaſtward, which having viſited, on their return they heard of the great ſickneſs in Philadelphia, what is ſince commonly called the yellow fever, which had for a conſiderable time before been very mortal in ſeveral of the Weſt India iſlands; toward the latter end of the ſummer this year it raged there alſo with unuſual terror, and ſo great was the viſitation, that a perſon of note in Penſylvania *, and an eye-witneſs, ſpeaks of it in the following terms, "Great was the majeſty and hand of the Lord, "great was the fear that fell upon all fleſh; "I ſaw no lofty airy countenance, nor heard any "vain jeſting to move men to laughter, nor "witty repartee to raiſe mirth, nor extravagant

Epidemical ſickneſs at Philadelphia.

* Thomas Story, a lawyer, and afterwards ſome time one of the provincial council and recorder of the city of Philadelphia. Vid. Journal of his life, page 224.

"feaſting

" feaſting to excite the luſts and deſires of the
" fleſh above meaſure, but every face gathered
" paleneſs, and many hearts were humbled, and
" countenances fallen and ſunk, as ſuch that wait-
" ed every moment to be ſummoned to the bar
" and numbered to the grave."

CHAP. XIII. 1699.

" But the juſt appeared with open face, and
" walked upright in the ſtreets, and rejoiced
" in ſecret, in that perfect love that caſteth
" out all fear; and ſang praiſes to him who
" liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for ever,
" being reſigned unto his holy will in all things;
" ſaying, *Let it be as thou wilt, in time, and in*
" *eternity, now and for ever more:* nor love of
" the world, nor fear of death, could hinder
" their reſignation, abridge their confidence,
" or cloud their enjoyments in the Lord."

The ſaid friends being arrived at Philadelphia from their journey to the Eaſtward, found things in this languiſhing ſituation, they remained there ſome time with their friend and brother in the miniſtry Aaron Atkinſon, viſiting and encouraging the ſick and afflicted, the latter after ſome time was taken with the diſtemper, but recovered.

At the yearly meeting of friends held in the ſeventh month, Roger Gill, who from divers inſtances appears to have been very deeply affected with the preſent heavy calamity, in one of his public addreſſes to the Almighty, with great zeal and earneſtneſs ſolemnly prayed, that " the Lord would be pleaſed to accept of his " life as a ſacrifice for his people, that a ſtop " might be put to the contagion." When he firſt heard of this mortality, he ſaid he felt " a " great weight and exerciſe to come upon him" ſo

R. Gill's remarkable prayer.

CHAP. XIII. 1699.

ſo that he had no eaſe in his ſpirit until he came amongſt them, and when he came, he not only viſited the ſick, but ſuch was the part he took in their affliction, that he declared in his public preaching that "when he was one hundred miles "off, his love in the Lord was ſuch to them, "that had he had wings he would have flown to "them." After the yearly meeting was over he often expreſſed the ſtate of his mind, and that he had not much to do but viſit friends of Burlington, and having accompliſhed that journey, at his return to Philadelphia was taken ſick with the common diſtemper, which filled him with great pain and affliction of body, and he remembered in his ſickneſs "the free-will of-"fering of himſelf up unto the Lord, ſaying to "thoſe about him, it is not in my heart to re-"pent of the offer I have made," and continued notwithſtanding his pains exhorting friends to faithfulneſs, and at a certain time ſaid, "the "Lord hath ſanctified my afflictions to me, and "hath made my ſickneſs as a bed of down;" and when ſome of his friends ſpoke as though they had hopes of his recovery, he ſaid to them, "truly I have neither thoughts or hopes about "being raiſed in this life, but I know I ſhall "riſe ſooner than many imagine, and receive a "reward according to my works." This ſickneſs continued ſeven days upon him, and a few hours before his death he took his leave of his friends about him, by ſaying *farewell, farewell, farewell*, and calmly paſſed from time to eternity on the ſecond of the eighth month.

Death of R. Gill.

The death of this good man by the common diſtemper, ſo ſoon following the public offer he had made, and the ſickneſs ceaſing in a little time

time afterwards, made it an occurrence much taken notice of; and was the more extraordinary, that he does not appear to have been a man apt to be carried away by undue tranſports, but on the contrary was much favoured in his public ſervices. CHAP. XIII. 1699.

"At the ferry," ſays Thomas Story, "I had "the afflicting news of the death of my com- "panion Roger Gill at Philadelphia, at which "my ſoul was greatly bowed, and my heart "tendered, and the ground whereon I ſat was "watered with my tears, in the concluſion "whereof I was fully ſatisfied he had obtained "a crown of everlaſting peace with the Lord, "and that his memory ſhould not rot, nor his "living teſtimony fall in thoſe American parts, "wherein we had laboured together from Caro- "lina to New England, where many hearts had "been tendered by him and ſouls comforted, "and ſeveral convinced, and all through that "divine power by which he is now raiſed to "glory, to ſing praiſes to him who ſitteth on "the throne, and ruleth and reigneth, and is "alone worthy, for ever and ever, Amen."

James Dickenſon, whoſe firſt and ſecond viſits have been mentioned already, did this year ſend the following epiſtle to friends in theſe provinces.

"Rogerſkail, 27th of 1ſt month, 1699.

"Dear Friends,

"In the love of God, my ſoul dearly ſalutes "you all in the ſeed of life, in which we are "united

CHAP. XIII. 1699.

" united the whole world over, and are bound
" up in that one eternal power and ſpirit by
" which we have been gathered to be a people
" to appear in the world to make mention of
" his name, and that in truth and righteouſneſs.
" All wait low in the depth of humility, daily
" to feel the operation and opening of his eter-
" nal power upon your ſpirits, that by it you
" may be all guided in true fear and wiſdom in
" all your exerciſes and ſervices for God in your
" ſeveral gifts, and places that God has com-
" mitted to your truſt and charge, that you all
" be ſhewing forth the glory and power and
" wiſdom of him that hath called you out of
" the dark world, and its ways, cuſtoms and
" faſhions, into his marvellous light, to walk
" therein, and to be faithful witneſſes for him,
" and that your lights may ſo ſhine before men,
" that they may ſee your good works, that may
" glorify your father which is in heaven. My
" ſpirit and life is often with you in my ſecret
" retirement unto the Lord in thoſe remote
" parts of the world.

" Oh! my bowels yearn towards you, night
" and day, for your growth and proſperity in
" the truth, that you may be kept under the
" government of Chriſt, where his peace will
" daily riſe up in your ſouls, which will far
" tranſcend all earthly enjoyments, and redeem
" your affections out of the earth, and the
" ſnares and corruptions that are in it, and will
" draw the affections heavenwards, and to ſeek
" thoſe things that are above, ſo will the Lord
" bleſs you every way, both inwardly and out-
" wardly, and your table will never become a
" trap and a ſnare to you.

" Treaſure

" Treaſure the advice given of old, truſt not CHAP.
" in uncertain riches, but in the living God, XIII.
" and then he will abundantly bleſs thoſe parts
" of the world where it is your lot to dwell, he 1699.
" will be as a wall of fire round about you, and
" and make your enemies to be at peace with
" you; keep low, there is your ſafety, and look
" not out but to the Lord, whoſe eye is watch-
" ing over you for good, and his hand is full of
" bleſſings to be poured down upon you, if you
" give him not occaſion to withhold them from
" you, by letting your minds wander from him;
" therefore let an holy care and zeal be kept
" in by all, to keep their minds cloſe to the
" Lord, ſo will he bring up a godly concern
" upon your minds, for the honour of God, and
" a holy ſtrict diſcipline amongſt you, that all
" that profeſs the holy truth, walk as becomes
" truth in their life and converſation, and that
" thoſe that do not, be dealt with, and if poſ-
" ſible be reclaimed, and if not, to clear the
" holy truth of them, and to wipe off the ſcan-
" dal, that may be caſt upon your holy pro-
" feſſion by their diſorderly walkings. I do not
" write thoſe things becauſe you know them
" not, but to ſtir up your minds to put them
" in practice, and in order thereto, we are in
" the practice of appointing two or more faith-
" ful friends in every particular meeting to take
" inſpection into the converſation of friends,
" how they walk as becomes truth, and theſe
" friends of every meeting, which we call a pre-
" parative meeting, becauſe it fits thoſe that are
" appointed, to give a true account to the
" monthly meeting, that often conſiſts of ſe-
" veral, and takes a great deal of work from
" the

CHAP. XIII. 1699.

"the monthly meeting, things being done without going thither. We find great benefit in "a ſtrict diſcipline, and there is a great need "of it. I deſire you to keep in the unity of "the ſpirit, which is the bond of peace, and "ſtir up one another to love and good works, "and that thoſe whom God hath truſted with heavenly gifts may all improve them to his glory, "and ſtir up one another to viſit remote parts "that want help, as Virginia, Carolina, New-"England, Barbadoes, Jamaica, Antigua, Nevis, and let all be done in the love of God, "ſo will he bleſs you with ſpiritual bleſſings in "his ſon Chriſt Jeſus, in whom I dearly ſalute "you all, letting you know I am well every way, "and to God's eternal arm of power I commit "you all, and remain your friend and brother "in the holy truth,

"JAMES DICKENSON."

The ſecond of the 8th month died Arthur Cooke of Philadelphia. He came over amongſt ſome of the firſt ſettlers, ſince his arrival had borne many of the moſt conſiderable poſts in the government, which he ſeems to have diſcharged with a good character.

W. Penn's ſecond voyage to Penſylvania.

In the ſixth month this year, William Penn with his wife and family took ſhipping a ſecond time for his province of Penſylvania; and on the ninth of the ſeventh month (September) they ſet ſail, and were near three months out at ſea. Providence, by the tedioufneſs of their voyage, protracting the time of their arrival, until the danger of the contagious diſtemper then reigning in that country was over. Upon their coming thither, they

they were received with the univerſal joy of the inhabitants. CHAP. XIII.

Being now determined to ſettle in his province, he applied himſelf to the offices of government, always preferring the good of the country and its inhabitants to his own private intereſt; rather remitting, than rigorouſly exacting his lawful revenues: ſo that under the influence of his paternal adminiſtration the province was in an eaſy and flouriſhing condition: when ſome perſons here in England, taking advantage of his abſence, were endeavouring to undermine both his and other proprietary governments, under the ſpecious pretence of advancing the prerogative of the crown; and a bill for that purpoſe was brought into the houſe of lords. His friends, the proprietors and adventurers here, preſently repreſented the hardſhip of their caſe to the parliament, ſoliciting time for his return to anſwer for himſelf; and accordingly giving him a ſpeedy account how matters ſtood, they preſſed his coming over forthwith; with which he ſeeing it neceſſary to comply, ſummoned an aſſembly to meet at Philadelphia, to whom, on the 15th of September, 1701, he made the following ſpeech, viz. 1699.

"Friends,

"You cannot be more concerned than I "am at the frequency of your ſervice in aſſem- "bly, ſince I am very ſenſible of the trouble "and charge it contracts upon the country, "but the motives being conſidered, and that "you muſt have met of courſe in the next "month, I hope you will not think it a "hardſhip now.

"The

CHAP. XIII. 1701.

"The reaſon that haſtens your ſeſſions, is "the neceſſity I am under, through the endea-"vours of the enemies of the proſperity of "this country, to go for England; where, "taking advantage of my abſence, ſome have "attempted, by falſe or unreaſonable charges, "to undermine our government, and thereby "the true value of our labour and property. "Government having been our firſt encourage-"ment, I confeſs I cannot think of ſuch a voy-"age without great reluctancy of mind, having "promiſed myſelf the quietneſs of a wilderneſs, "and that I might ſtay ſo long at leaſt with "you, as to render every body entirely eaſy "and ſafe. For my heart is among you as "well as my body, whatever ſome people may "pleaſe to think; and no unkindneſs or diſ-"appointment ſhall (with ſubmiſſion to God's "providence) ever be able to alter my love to "the country, and reſolution to return and "ſettle my family and poſterity in it: but "having reaſon to believe I can at this time "beſt ſerve you and myſelf on that ſide of "the water, neither the rudeneſs of the ſeaſon, "nor tender circumſtances of my family, can "over-rule my inclinations to undertake it.

"Think, therefore, (ſince all men are mortal) "of ſome ſuitable expedient and proviſion for "your ſafety, as well in your privileges as pro-"perty, and you will find me ready to comply "with whatſoever may render us happy by a "nearer union of our intereſts.

"Review again your laws; propoſe new ones "that may better your circumſtances; and "what you do, do quickly, remembering that the "parliament ſits the end of the next month,

"and

1701.

" and that the ſooner I am there, the ſafer I hope " we ſhall be here.

" I muſt recommend to your ſerious thoughts " and care, the king's letter to me for the " aſſiſtance of New-York with 350l. ſterling, " as a frontier government, and therefore ex- " poſed to a much greater expence in proportion " to other colonies; which I called the laſt " aſſembly to take into their conſideration, " and they were pleaſed, for the reaſons then " given, to refer to this.

" I am alſo to tell you the good news of the " governor of New-York, his happy iſſue of " his conferences with the five nations of Indi- " ans, that he hath not only made peace with " them, for the king's ſubjects of that colony, " but (as I had by ſome letters before deſired " him) for thoſe of all other governments under " the crown of England on the continent of " America, as alſo the nations of Indians " within thoſe reſpective colonies: which cer- " tainly merits our acknowledgments.

" I have done, when I have told you, that " unanimity and diſpatch are the life of buſineſs, " and *that* I deſire and expect from you, for " your own ſakes, ſince it may ſo much contri- " bute to the diſappointment of thoſe that too " long have ſought the ruin of our young " country."

The Aſſembly's Addreſs.

" May it pleaſe the Proprietary and Governor,

" We have this day in our aſſembly read thy " ſpeech, delivered yeſterday in council; and " having

CHAP. XIII. 1701.

" having duly conſidered the ſame, cannot but " be under a deep ſenſe of ſorrow for thy pur- " poſe of ſo ſpeedily leaving us, and at the ſame " time taking notice of thy paternal regard to " us and our poſterity, the freeholders of this " province, and territories annexed, in thy " loving and kind expreſſions of being ready " to comply with whatſoever expedient and " proviſions we ſhall offer for our ſafety, as well " in privileges as property, and what elſe may " render us happy in a nearer union of our " intereſts; not doubting the performance of " what thou haſt been ſo lovingly pleaſed to " promiſe, we do in much humility, and as a " token of our gratitude, return unto thee " the unfeigned thanks of this houſe.

" Subſcribed by order of the houſe,

" JOSEPH CROWDON, ſpeaker."

The next month he took ſhipping for England, and ſafely arriv'd at Portſmouth about the middle of December; and the ſame month came up to London: after his return, the bill, which, through his friends ſolicitations, had been poſtponed the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, was wholly dropped, and no farther progreſs made in that affair. It doth not appear that after this he returned any more to Penſylvania.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE third volume of this hiſtory being now finiſhed according to the propoſals, it is apprehended it may be moſt acceptable to the ſubſcribers to be immediately furniſhed therewith, although not yet brought up to the preſent time. And notwithſtanding at firſt it was expected the whole might be comprehended in three volumes, yet through an endeavour to introduce as full and diſtinct accounts of the lives and ſervices of the moſt conſiderable members of the ſociety, as the materials in the author's hands and ſupplies of new matter enabled him, to which his attention was particularly turned, (agreeable to the opinion and wiſhes of ſundry friends,) it now appears a fourth volume will be neceſſary to complete his plan, which, from the materials in his hands, he is willing to hope will prove no unacceptable addition. If his endeavours to accommodate the deſire and expectations of friends in a general way, may appear to ſome readers to have drawn him into too great a prolixity, he hopes their ſympathetic feelings with an author who hath many different taſtes and tempers to gratify, will plead in his favour to moderate cenſure, and form a candid judgment of his laborious undertaking. If the fourth volume fall ſhort of the extent of the former, the price will be reduced in proportion: And if any friends are poſſeſſed of any authentic anecdotes, which may be conducive to the elucidation or completion of the ſucceeding part, they will be gratefully accepted by the author,

J. G.

4mo. 29th
1790.

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